

**PEOPLE**

**Rockefeller Fund Will Launch Program in Asia**

David Rockefeller has announced a new philanthropic program for Asia in connection with the Ramon Magsaysay Award. Speaking in Bangkok for the Magsaysay awards, Rockefeller said that the Rockefeller Foundation would be awarding \$2 million in prizes to outstanding leaders in Asia. The awards, which are given annually, honor leaders in various fields, including government, business, and education. Rockefeller said that the awards were named after the late Philippine President Ramon Magsaysay, who was a close friend of the Rockefeller family. The awards were first given in 1957 and have since become one of the most prestigious honors in Asia.

# INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

|             |       |           |        |             |      |             |        |
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PARIS, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1987

ESTABLISHED 1887

## Yeltsin Named to New Post

### Ex-Chief of Party in Moscow Given Rank of Minister

By Philip Taubman  
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — Boris N. Yeltsin, removed last week as head of the Moscow city party organization, was given a top government job with the rank of minister Wednesday.

Tass reported that Mr. Yeltsin was named first deputy chairman of the state committee for construction, a field in which Mr. Yeltsin specialized before taking the Moscow post in December 1985.

It seemed likely Mr. Yeltsin would retain his membership in the party's ruling Central Committee. Soviet officials said he would be stripped of his position as a non-voting member of the Politburo.

The appointment appeared to be part of an effort to dispel criticism within the Soviet Union and abroad about the Communist Party's handling of the Yeltsin case as Mikhail S. Gorbachev prepares for his first visit to the United States next week.

Soviet officials, apparently hoping to cast last week's dismissal in a more favorable light, said Wednesday that interference in political debate was a major factor behind the harsh treatment of Mr. Yeltsin during a meeting of the Moscow party leadership last Wednesday.

The Moscow leadership, in a meeting presided over by Mr. Gorbachev, excoriated Mr. Yeltsin a week ago for mismanagement and political mistakes and removed him as the party leader. A detailed report of the session, including the savage criticism of Mr. Yeltsin and his alleged confession at the end, was printed in Pravda last Friday.

The action stemmed from a speech that Mr. Yeltsin, a non-voting member of the Politburo, gave at a meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee on Oct. 21. According to government accounts, he suggested that Mr. Gorbachev's economic restructuring program was not working.

Moving in newspaper columns and interviews to counter the puzzlement and alarm generated by the move.

See SOVIET, Page 2



Ronald Reagan addressing the nation after the Iran affair broke, inset, clockwise from upper left: John M. Poindexter, Richard V. Secord, William J. Casey and Oliver L. North.

## Iran-Contr Report: Reagan Criticized Harshly For Not Controlling Staff

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan bears "ultimate responsibility" for the Iran-contr affair because he allowed a "cabal of zealots" to seize control of U.S. policy and bypass the law, congressional investigators said Wednesday in a highly critical final report on the scandal.

The investigation by two special congressional committees, the largest inquiry into possible presidential wrongdoing since the Watergate affair brought down President Richard M. Nixon in 1974, criticized Mr. Reagan more harshly than many observers had expected.

It concluded that he had failed to carry out the constitutional responsibility that the president "shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

Left unresolved was the key issue of whether the president knew that profits from secret arms sales to Iran had been diverted to the U.S.-backed Nicaraguan rebels, known as contras.

The report by the special Senate and House committees said there was no evidence that Mr. Reagan knew of the diversion, but it added that "he should have."

Mr. Reagan tolerated an atmosphere in which his staff broke the law and "violated cardinal principles of the Constitution," the report by the majority of the House and Senate select committees said. The aides ran a secret foreign policy and tried to cover up their misdeeds, it asserted.

The 690-page document lays out a story of two-faced policy-making, extensive confusion among top officials, excessive secrecy and deception and a cavalier attitude toward legal requirements and constitutional procedures.

"These committees found no direct evidence suggesting that the president was a knowing participant in the effort to deceive Congress and the American public," the panels reported. "But the president's actions and statements contributed to the deception."

The ultimate responsibility for the events in the Iran-contr affair must rest with the president, the report said.

The report did not level specific criminal charges. That task remains for the special prosecutor, Lawrence E. Walsh, who is heading the federal grand jury investigation that is still under way.

The tone of the report is somewhat harsher than the White House's official Tower commission report in February. That report criticized what it called Mr. Reagan's detached management style. But there was no direct accusation in the committee report that Mr. Reagan himself broke the law.

Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Democrat of Hawaii, the chairman of the Senate panel, said committee members did not believe the president had committed an offense for which he could be impeached.

The report raised the possibility that Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d had been part of the cover-up, abandoning normal professional interviewing techniques of having witnesses present and taking notes after his investigations discovered a memorandum from Lieutenant Colonel Oliver L. North, the dismissed National Security Council aide, that outlined the diversion of funds to the contras.

"The common ingredients of the Iran and contra policies were secrecy, deception and disdain for the law," the report said. "A small group of senior officials believed that they alone knew what was right."

Those conclusions were not unanimous. All six Republicans on the House committee, and two of the five Republican members of the Senate panel filed a sharp dissent, contending that while administration officials had made mistakes they amounted to no more than errors of judgment.

The minority accused the Democratic majority of selective use of evidence to build an indictment of Mr. Reagan for partisan reasons.

In a statement read at the White House after the report was released, the chief White House spokesman, Martin Fitzwater, said, "This new report reflects the subjective opinions and not even the unanimous judgment of the committee."

"We are moving on," he said. "And we trust that out of this experience has come a new wisdom about the process of governing in America."

Mr. Reagan himself had no immediate comment on the report.

In new revelations, the report said that some U.S. weapons supposedly provided to strengthen Iranian moderates actually went to Iran's radical Revolutionary Guards and that U.S. officials were later told that one of the "moderates" in the U.S. dealings was in fact the person who masterminded the 1984 kidnapping of William

See REAGAN, Page 2

## What the Panel Found

**Conclusions**

- By his actions and statements, President Ronald Reagan misled the American public in November 1986 about the sale of U.S. weapons to Iran while his aides engaged in a cover-up. However, no direct evidence was found that Mr. Reagan was a knowing participant in the effort to deceive Congress and the public, nor that he broke the law.
- The destruction of documents and the death of William J. Casey, the former CIA director, meant that all the facts may never be known.
- Fundamental processes of governance were disregarded and the rule of law was subverted.
- Mr. Reagan bears ultimate responsibility because he allowed a "cabal of zealots" to seize control of policy and bypass the law.
- "The common ingredients of the Iran and contra policies were secrecy, deception and disdain for the law. A small group of senior officials believed that they alone knew what was right."

**Laws Broken**

- The constitutional provision that Congress controls the power of the purse.
- National Security Act requirements on notifying Congress of covert operations.
- The so-called Boland Amendment, which limited aid to the Nicaraguan rebels.
- Laws governing the use of government funds that were misappropriated in the diversion.

**New Disclosures**

- Some U.S. weapons went to Iran's radical Revolutionary Guards, and U.S. officials were told that one of the so-called "moderates" involved in dealing with the U.S. had masterminded the 1984 kidnapping of William Buckley, the Beirut CIA station chief.
- As early as Dec. 3, 1985, Lieutenant Colonel Oliver L. North had plans to use sales of weapons to Iran to generate profits that could be used to support the Nicaraguan rebels.

**Recommendations**

- The National Security Act should be revised to require that Congress be notified of approval of a covert operation within 48 hours. Current law calls only for unspecified "timely notice."
- A requirement that all presidential decisions to initiate a covert operation be in writing and be signed by the president. Retrospective "findings" or decisions to initiate covert operations should be banned.
- The administration should be required to identify to Congress all agents involved in covert activities, including private parties and foreign governments.
- A requirement that all covert operations be dismantled one year after they are first authorized unless the president certifies to Congress that continuing them is in the national interest.

The Associated Press

## At Least 27 Die in London Subway Fire

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LONDON — At least 27 people were killed and up to 30 others were feared dead when smoke from a fire poured through a crowded underground rail station in central London at the end of the rush hour on Wednesday, the police said.

The fire occurred at the King's Cross station, one of the largest and most heavily used stations in London's vast subway system. Renovations have been under way at the station for years.

The last major subway accident in London was in 1975, when 42 people were killed in a crash.

It took an hour to put out the main blaze at King's Cross, which erupted at 7:30 P.M., but minor fires continued to burn, sending heavy smoke pouring from the numerous entrances to the subway system around the major British Rail terminal.

The cause of the fire was not immediately known.

The police said the main blaze broke out in a machine room below the escalators linking the Underground with the British Rail terminal.

Minutes later the main rail terminal also was evacuated and a police spokesman said that hundreds of passengers had "suffered the effects of smoke."

The police at the scene said the situation was chaotic and a spokesman said more fatalities were expected.

One witness said: "We saw a woman and a man come up. The man had all his hair burnt off and his face was black, and the woman was screaming."

Several hundred passengers were trapped on one train before being rescued by firemen wearing breathing apparatus.

Hospitals in the area went on to emergency status to handle dozens of casualties, some seriously burned and many suffering from smoke inhalation.

The police said an unknown number of dead and injured still had to be recovered from the platform complex, and many tunnels still had to be searched.

A pub worker, Stephen Flynn, 30, said he was coming out of a pub near the station when he saw the smoke. "There was a chap lying on the floor with three firemen standing round him, giving him oxygen," he said. "His jeans were all ripped and black."

(Reuters, UPI)

## Tired of Deficit Talks, Europe Seeks Action

By Reginald Dale  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The European financial community is wearying of its weeks-long scrutiny of the intricacies of U.S. budget-cutting in Washington, and is anxious to turn the spotlight on wider world economic problems, market analysts said Wednesday.

Feeling has increased that the White House and congressional budget negotiators have lost sight of the urgency of the situation and are in any case only dealing with part of the problem.

"Get the budget negotiations out of the way so we can get on with the real business of crisis management," said Christopher Johns, senior economist at the Phillips & Drew brokerage house in London.

With an apparent leadership vacuum in Washington, Mr. Johns and others would like to see the Group of Seven leading industrial countries take control of the world economy and start devoting themselves to action, not words.

The real test, they say, will be the ministerial meeting of the G-7 countries — the United States, Japan, West Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Canada — that is expected to follow once the U.S. budget-cutting package is agreed.

If politicians start believing that the crisis has receded, and nothing is done, many say, there is a real danger of a second market collapse.

There is a fairly widespread belief that attention has focused too much on the minutiae of the painfully protracted U.S. budget talks, and not enough on the need to resolve the major economic imbalances among the United States, West Germany and Japan.

"In the strictly economic context, the U.S. budget deficit is a little bit of a red herring," said Paul Turnbull, an economist at Smith New Court, a London brokerage house. "The crucial economic issue is the U.S. trade deficit."

In Washington on Wednesday, the negotiators said they were working toward an accord to trim as much as \$75 billion from the budget deficit over the next two years.

European analysts do not discount the need for action to cut the U.S. budget deficit. But many worry that the markets have focused too much on a narrow range of figures, whether, for example, the first year's cuts would be \$23 billion or \$30 billion.

"What's needed is a clear demonstration that the United States recognizes what it needs to do and is ready to deal with the problem," Mr. Johns said.

Jean Cheval, chief economist at Banque Indosuez in Paris, is among many who fear that the urgency of avoiding another crash is not well grasped by President Ronald Reagan, his advisers or Congress.

"The financial community has

See WEARY, Page 13

## Impact of Crash: Construction Is Off

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — U.S. housing construction fell 8.2 percent in October, the biggest decline in more than three years, the Commerce Department said Wednesday. Analysts said the drop was one of the first economic indicators to reflect last month's stock market collapse.

The department said initial construction of new homes and apartments was running at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 1.51 million units in October, the slowest pace since April 1983.

The actual percentage decline from September's level was the biggest monthly setback since an 8.4 percent fall in August 1984.

The steep drop in October, which followed a 4 percent September increase, was probably due in part to last month's market plunge, analysts said, highlighted by the record 508-point fall in the Dow Jones industrial average on Oct. 19.

They said that uncertainty about the economy and consumer spending probably curtailed builders' plans to start new construction in the final days of the month.

But they said an even more significant factor depressing construction activity was an earlier jump in mortgage interest rates.

"We are seeing the combined effects of what had been sharply rising interest rates and the impact of the stock market collapse," said Warren Lasko, head of the Mortgage Bankers Association.

Fixed-rate 30-year mortgages rose to 11.58 percent in mid-October as the Federal Reserve Board tightened credit to guard against renewed inflation. Rates have now declined to 10.66 percent, as the central bank has switched its focus to avoiding a recession.

Building permits, an indicator of future activity, fell 3.4 percent to an annual 1.45 million units, the weakest pace since January 1983.

For the first 10 months, housing starts were 10.6 percent below the comparable 1986 period.

Single-family construction fell 7 percent to an annual rate of 1.1 million units, while multifamily construction dropped 11.3 percent to an annual rate of 410,000.



Lawrence E. Walsh in Washington on Wednesday.

## Special Prosecutor Says Inquiry Is Not Affected

By Philip Shenon  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The special prosecutor in the Iran-contr affair said Wednesday that his investigation had "its own momentum now" and would not be significantly affected by the congressional reports.

"We have a large base for our own action," said the prosecutor, Lawrence E. Walsh.

Mr. Walsh, who is formally known as an independent counsel, is expected to seek indictments soon against Lieutenant Colonel Oliver L. North and other key figures in the Iran-contr affair.

He would not discuss what criminal charges, if any, would be brought. Charges are expected within several weeks, perhaps in early January.

Mr. Walsh and his staff are prohibited from reading the congressional reports because they contain information from witnesses who received limited immunity in exchange for their testimony.

Under immunity rules, the prosecutors cannot bring charges based on the testimony or on any leads produced by the testimony.

Because of pretrial litigation, particularly over whether Mr. Walsh and his staff were affected by news reports, any trials in the case may be years away.

"We've had over 1,000 witness interviews, we've examined literally hundreds of thousands of documents," Mr. Walsh said. "We recently received a new group of documents from Switzerland."

He had been expected to seek indictments earlier this year, but the charges were put off when the Swiss government, after months of litigation, released thousands of pages of bank records detailing financial transactions in the affair.

People with knowledge of the investigation said four men were targets of Mr. Walsh's inquiry: Colonel North, a former National Security Council aide; Rear Admiral John M. Poindexter, President Ronald Reagan's former national

See WALSH, Page 2

## Kiosk Parties in Italy Agree to Govern

ROME (Reuters) — President Francesco Cossiga rejected on Wednesday the resignation of Italy's five-party coalition and sent Prime Minister Giovanni Goria back to Parliament for a vote of confidence expected later this week, signaling the end of a five-day government crisis.

The move came after the Christian Democrats, Socialists, Republicans, Social Democrats and Liberals agreed to patch up the dispute over economic policy that caused the resignation Saturday, and to continue to govern together.

## DAKKIE TOOTH PASTE



A toothpaste used in Asia may get a slightly different name. Page 3.

**GENERAL NEWS**

- Senator Paul Simon has shed his also-ran image after leading the Iowa Poll. Page 3.
- Soweto officials tried to break the rent boycott in the South African township. Page 2.

**BUSINESS/FINANCE**

- Kuwait bought 10 percent of British Petroleum Co. Page 9.

Dow close: UP 16.91  
The dollar in New York:  
DM £ Yen FF  
L835 1.745 135.30 5.707



## Soweto Officials Seek To Break Rent Boycott Under Army Protection

By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Service

JOHANNESBURG — South African Army troops and security police moved into the black township of Soweto before dawn Wednesday to back up moves by the town council designed to break a 17-month-long rent boycott.

There were no reports of clashes as armored vehicles patrolled the streets of the Orlando West section of the sprawling township on the outskirts of Johannesburg. Officials went door to door

warning residents to pay their rent arrears or face forcible eviction as early as Friday.

The rent strike has been the most sustained civil disobedience in decades. While it has spread to other segregated townships throughout South Africa, Soweto is the principal site of the protest.

Some residents said that they had been told they could pay half their back rent and avoid forcible eviction. The last such evictions to be conducted on a large scale, in October 1986, led to violence that claimed 34 lives.

The rent boycott, which was begun to protest the imposition on June 12, 1986, of a national state of emergency, has resulted in a loss to the government of an estimated \$200 million.

In 1986, it caused a budget deficit of more than \$55 million in Soweto. The central government has covered much of the losses.

An estimated half of the township's 110,000 households have refused to pay rent and service charges at various times, but the council has evicted few of them, apparently out of fear that wholesale removals could ignite popular resistance.

The Soweto Civic Association has said that the boycott will continue until the government-supported township council resigns and rents are lowered.

Monthly rents for two-room brick houses average about \$20, plus an additional \$30 for utilities. The unemployment rate in Soweto is estimated to be 52 percent, and many who work earn the equivalent of about \$100 a month.

In August, the mayor of Soweto, Nelson Botile, said that rent defaulters would no longer be evicted, a policy change designed to promote the government's planned sale of houses to residents. Two-room houses are expected to be sold for approximately \$335, including the property.

The township council, which was installed in 1983 in a widely boycotted election, has tried various measures, unsuccessfully, to break the strike.

In June, the council threatened to forcibly evict prominent black leaders, including Winnie Mandela, the wife of the imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela; Albertina Sisulu, a national president of the United

### Journalist Gets 6 Years For Insult to Juan Carlos

United Press International

MADRID — The Spanish Supreme Court sentenced a journalist to six years and a day in prison for insulting King Juan Carlos I, judicial sources said.

The court convicted Juan José Fernández Pérez on Tuesday of "clearly attacking the honor and dignity of his majesty" in an article published in June 1982 on business dealings surrounding the World Soccer Cup championships held in Spain.



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Michael Graff announcing his resignation on Wednesday.

## 2 Austrian Aides Resign After Remarks on Jews

The Associated Press

VIENNA — Two Austrian politicians widely criticized for anti-Semitic statements resigned from senior political office on Wednesday after a storm of protest erupted over remarks one of them made about the past of President Kurt Waldheim.

One official, Michael Graff, general secretary of the Austrian People's Party, the conservative party in the coalition government, resigned after having told the French news weekly L'Express that "so long as it's not proved that he strangled six Jews with his own hands," there was no problem with Mr. Waldheim's past.

The statement had been condemned by Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, a Socialist, Foreign Minister Alois Mock, who heads the People's Party, and Simon Wiesenthal, a Nazi hunter.

Hours after Mr. Graff announced his resignation to a packed news conference, the deputy mayor of Linz, Carl Hoedl, also resigned from his political office.

Mr. Hoedl, also a member of the People's Party, was widely criticized in May after he wrote a letter to Edgar M. Bronfman, the presi-

dent of the World Jewish Congress, and compared the congress's "crusade" against Mr. Waldheim to Jewish condemnation of Jesus Christ.

A statement issued in Linz claimed there was no connection between the two resignations, but political observers said it seemed clear that the actions were decided on jointly by Mr. Mock and other party leaders.

Mr. Graff and Mr. Mock told reporters that Mr. Graff's remarks to L'Express constituted "a bad mistake."

Mr. Graff went on Austrian television Tuesday night and asked forgiveness for making the remarks.

The Linz announcement said Mr. Hoedl would retire as deputy mayor in January.

Mr. Waldheim issued a statement Wednesday saying he had been "most deeply hurt" by Mr. Graff's remarks and condemned them.

A group of intellectuals and artists sent a telegram to the Austria Press Agency saying they were horrified "about the unbelievable inhumanity of the official representatives of this country."

The controversy over Mr. Waldheim's World War II past dates back to March 1986, when the World Jewish Congress, the Austrian news weekly Profil and The New York Times published documents saying that Mr. Waldheim served in a German unit in the Balkans in World War II that committed atrocities against partisans.

Mr. Waldheim, who was UN secretary-general for 10 years, had not previously publicized his wartime service. He admitted he was in Greece and Yugoslavia but has consistently denied any links to Nazi atrocities in the Balkans.

## Kenyan Preacher Linked to Plot Claims

By Blaine Harden

Washington Post Service

NAIROBI — It is the most extraordinary of African coup plots.

As it has unfolded this week on the front pages of the government-controlled newspapers here, seven American missionaries allegedly overthrew the Ku Klux Klan to overthrow the government of President Daniel arap Moi.

Last Friday, the missionaries and their families were expelled. Security officials have searched a number of houses occupied by Americans in the past two days and arrested a Kenyan cleric. On Tuesday, they seized the passports of three American missionary families and threatened them with expulsion.

However, according to the U.S. government, the plot is a hoax. The U.S. Embassy in Nairobi issued a statement saying the only known evidence of the plot, a purported Ku Klux Klan fund-raising letter written on the stationery of a small rural church in North Carolina, was a forgery.

The statement said that the missionaries who were expelled and the North Carolina church "appear to have been the victims of a hoax or fraudulent scheme which the American authorities are still investigating. The American government is seeking the support of the government of Kenya in explaining the facts to the public."

The affair appears to have strained relations between the United States and Kenya.

According to interviews in Kenya and in the United States with missionaries, the letter that led to the expulsions had nothing to do with the KKK, the American white supremacist organization.

Rather, according to these sources, it was part of a bitter dispute between the missionaries who were expelled and a Kenyan-born preacher, David M.S. Kimwell, who lives in Carrollton, Georgia.

It was Mr. Kimwell's eloquent fund-raising speeches at a number of churches in the South that attracted to Kenya the seven American missionaries who were expelled last week.

"All the people mentioned in the Ku Klux Klan letter were attracted by Kimwell to work in Kenya," said Jerry Sauder, an American Mennonite missionary who works in the Kenyan town of Thika.

According to Mr. Sauder, who worked closely with one of the expelled missionary families, Paul and Mary Hamilton and their three children, the seven missionaries all came to Kenya expecting to work for Mr. Kimwell's churches.

But Mr. Sauder said that when they arrived, they found that the churches did not exist and that Mr. Kimwell had made false promises about their living arrangements.

The missionaries had to scramble to find other churches to work for, said Mr. Sauder, whose church took in the Hamilton family.

Mr. Hamilton, a television engineer who moved his family from Seymour, Tennessee, to Thika in July, was apparently enraged by Mr. Kimwell's false promises.

He reported Mr. Kimwell's fund-raising activities to the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi two weeks ago, U.S. officials say.

In a letter to the Reverend Stoen McClure, pastor of Snok Mountain Christian Church in Sevierville, Tennessee, Mr. Hamilton asserted in September that Mr. Kimwell was "applying pressure in Kenya to shut up the people over here."

The letter that ran here on the front pages of Kenya's three daily newspapers on Saturday appears to have been part of that pressure, according to missionary and diplomatic sources.

Federal investigators say the letter was forged on stationery purloined from Foscoe Christian Church in Boone, North Carolina. It is addressed: "To Klu (sic) Klux Klan members."

It states that \$80 million has been raised and appeals for another \$20 million that is needed "urgently" to "topple those governments surrounding South Africa."

### SOVIET: Yeltsin Gets Post

(Continued from Page 1)

The affair, officials acknowledged, had not been handled well and had exposed weaknesses in the Soviet system.

"We are learning about democracy, and maybe we are not the best pupils," a senior party aide said.

Although they defended the need to deal firmly with Mr. Yeltsin, and remove him from the Kremlin leadership, the officials said the public humiliation of Mr. Yeltsin last week was unnecessary and unwise.

"We regret the intensity of last week's meeting," the party aide said.

"Nobody wanted his blood," said Georgi A. Arbatov, the director of the Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies.

Mr. Arbatov, who made himself available for a number of interviews with Western correspondents Wednesday, said the affair was something that Mr. Gorbachev would have preferred to avoid.

"Gorbachev didn't want it, it fell on him like thunder from a clear sky," Mr. Arbatov said.

Officials said that Mr. Yeltsin remained hospitalized Wednesday because of heart trouble that had flared up last week. One official said Mr. Yeltsin entered the hospital Nov. 8, forcing a postponement of the meeting of the Moscow party organization.

The official said Mr. Yeltsin insisted on attending the meeting against the advice of doctors and returned to the hospital after his dismissal.

Saying that the significance of the case was being exaggerated in the West, Mr. Arbatov said, "We are in the process of learning democracy and the culture of real debate, and it is sometimes hard to overcome old habits."

"Would you rather that we had done this in the old way, with telephone calls to party leaders instructing them what to say?"

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The letter says that Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton are stationed in Thika, near Nairobi, and are "among natives who are dissatisfied with the present governments." It asserts that the Hamiltons have used some of funds already raised "to bribe the government officials and also to equip them with automobiles, computers and telephones."

U.S. diplomats in Nairobi say they cannot understand why a supposedly friendly government would fail to seek any explanation from U.S. officials before it publicized the alleged plot or why the government did not give the U.S. Embassy prior notification of the expulsions.

The Kenyan government, thus far, has not backed down publicly from its insistence that there was a Ku Klux Klan plot.

## Spain Offers a Formula for U.S. Base

United Press International

MADRID — Spain appeared Wednesday to soften its position in negotiations over U.S. air bases, saying the United States could use a base near Madrid under certain conditions as part of a new military agreement.

"The details have not been negotiated but Spain is willing to give the United States guarantees that it can use Torrejon under certain circumstances," said a government spokeswoman, Susana Ausorena.

Madrid is still demanding the withdrawal of 72 U.S. Air Force F-16 fighter bombers from the base at Torrejon de Ardoz, near Madrid, as a basis for reaching an agreement.

The daily newspaper El Pais quoted sources in the Socialist government as saying that U.S. forces would be allowed to keep aircraft support units at Torrejon and that the base could be used by the United States in crises.

Ms. Ausorena said Spain would formally make its proposal at talks scheduled for December.

In a seventh round of negotiations that opened Nov. 5, Washington offered to withdraw part of the F-16s from Torrejon but Madrid held to its demand that all three squadrons be removed. Spain has also rejected proposals to relocate the planes to a base in the south.

Madrid formally announced Nov. 10 that it did not want to renew a 24-year-old agreement that allows the United States the use of three air bases, a naval base and nine communications centers.

Unless a new accord is reached by May 14, when this pact expires, the United States will have until May 1989 to withdraw its forces.

From its efforts — channeling arms to Iran and to the Contras, and soliciting contributions — the enterprise took in some \$48 million, the committees concluded.

About \$16.5 million went to support the Contras or to pay for weapons later sold to the rebels; \$15.2 million was spent on operations involving Iran; \$6.6 million in commissions and profits went to those who ran the enterprise.

Richard V. Secord, a retired air force general, a business associate of Albert Hakim, a former CIA agent, Thomas Clines.

The report, reflecting information recently furnished by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, also indicated that as early as Dec. 5, 1985, Colonel North had plans to use weapons sales to Iran to generate profits that could be used to aid the Contras.

The committees listed 27 recommendations for specific changes in laws, but said the affair resulted not so much from defects in the law as from "the failure of individuals to observe the law."

Much of the report is a recitation of information that became familiar through a summer of televised hearings: How the administration, worried about the fate of Americans held hostage in Lebanon, violated its own policies by selling weapons to Iran; how it sought private and foreign money to sustain the Contras after Congress cut off U.S. funds; and how the two undertakings came together under Colonel North and Vice Admiral John M. Poindexter, who at the time was Mr. Reagan's national security adviser.

It describes the formation of what came to be called "the enterprise," a private covert action operation.

Now he finds himself trapped in a position of having no standing with U.S. officials and no sympathy from the Soviet government, whose offer of renewed citizenship he is rejecting as worthless because of employment bias he finds relentless.

The moods of the two men seem markedly different. Dr. Lockshin, 48, a biochemist, speaks optimistically of his job as a director of cancer research and of the adjustment by his three children to Soviet life.

Mr. Kimmelfeld is immersed in regrets. He concedes that average citizens in both countries find little to sympathize with in his contrary changes of mind. He offers detailed accounts of Kalkasque's grapples with the Soviet bureaucracy in his attempts to even start the paperwork to go back to the United States.

"I was warned I might never be able to see my mother again if I became an American citizen," he said, attributing this warning to Soviet

cooperate officials in the United States.

"I would give half my life to get out of this hell," he said.

"They intimidate my mother now because I'm here and I hardly recognize the old Kiev," he said.

"With all its problems," he concluded in retrospect, "the United States is a paradise."

Dr. Lockshin could not agree less, finding his homeland so imbued with Cold War rhetoric that his move was treated as treason by some American acquaintances even though the U.S. government notes that he is guilty of no crime and is free to go home.

As for the Soviet Union, Dr. Lockshin professes to discern none of the state dominance and intrusion into personal lives of the sort that the Lockshins say they sensed in the United States, and that Russians complain are endemic.

However the weaknesses and deficiencies here, people must agree the democratization procedure is moving forward," said Dr.

security adviser, and two men who served as middlemen in the Iran arms sale, Richard V. Secord, a retired Air Force major general, and Albert Hakim, an Iranian-born American citizen.

Others under investigation include Robert C. McFarlane, another former national security adviser, and Manucher Ghorbanifar, an Iranian who also served as a middleman in the arms sale.

Although Mr. Walsh is known to be focusing on conspiracy laws, the congressional report released Wednesday says a variety of other laws may have been broken, including one limiting aid to the Nicaraguan rebels known as the Contras, in addition to the National Security Act, the Arms Export Control Act and statutes prohibiting false statements to Congress.

William P. Clark, another former national security adviser and a longtime confidant of the president, said Tuesday that he wrote to Mr. Reagan at the end of the congressional Iran-contras hearings in August asking him to grant pardons to Admiral Poindexter and Colonel North before Mr. Walsh concluded his investigation.

The chief White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, said Wednesday of Mr. Clark's statement: "The president didn't respond. The president doesn't want to talk about pardons, period."

Betty Ford To Have Operation

The Associated Press

RANCHO MIRAGE, California — Betty Ford, 69, wife of former President Gerald R. Ford, has entered a hospital for coronary bypass surgery Friday, a spokeswoman said Wednesday.

NEW YORK — "On-going and serious human rights violations" have resulted from the Nicaraguan government's continued use of tribunals outside the regular court system to try people accused of national security offenses, a New York-based human rights organization has charged in a report.

The group, the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, also criticized the Nicaraguan rebels for "continuing gross human rights violations" that included "political killings, disappearances and other serious mistreatment of civilian noncombatants."

The 24-page report, called "Human Rights in Nicaragua," was issued Monday to update a 1985 study of rights violations in the country. The current findings were based on two visits to Nicaragua and Honduras over the summer by four members of the committee.

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Lockshin, who had been active in anti-government protests in the United States.

In the Soviet Union, he seems less attuned to at least one major Soviet controversy: He says he does not know enough to discuss the purging from the government hierarchy of Boris N. Yeltsin in what many Soviet citizens feel was an alarming test of the promises of openness and reform promised by the Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

Dr. Lockshin finds Soviet citizens hardly the "slaves" depicted by some American critics. "They don't evince any signs of persecution," he said. "This business of looking furtively over the shoulder — honestly, it has nothing to do with people here."

For Mr. Kimmelfeld, however, life here has been "a curse, a stigma," he said, tired of approaching

bureaucrats who, he says, carefully deny him the initial scrap of official paper that he needs to launch an appeal process.

"They all want to know if people really starve to death in America," he said wearily. "I ask them, 'Do I look like a starving American?' I was 200 pounds when I got back. Now I'm down to 160."

Dr. Lockshin says he has no illusions about his new home. "I'm clear we were given better treatment, let's not kid anyone," he said, adding, as if for Mr. Kimmelfeld's benefit, "Life is life, we adapt."

But Mr. Kimmelfeld says such adaptation is beyond him, and he comes close to keening when he thinks of the United States that the Lockshins found so threatening and that he, by his latest thinking, took for granted.

"Oh if I ever get out of this mess," he said, "I will be an American citizen and try and be as good as I can be."

## WORLD BRIEFS

### U.S. Forces Go on Alert in Philippines

MANILA (UPI) — U.S. servicemen went on their highest state of alert in a surprise security exercise Wednesday at Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Base, where three Americans were slain last month by suspected Communist guerrillas.

Officials said the exercise affected virtually all 17,000 U.S. servicemen at the bases and their 24,000 dependents, who were ordered to remain in their homes throughout the exercise. Most of the 77,000 Filipino employees at the bases were denied access when they reported for work Wednesday and told not to return until Friday.

At both bases, officials said the exercise was not directly related to the Oct. 28 killings or subsequent warnings from the communists of the National Democratic Front threatening any Americans assisting the counterinsurgency effort.

### Qatar Restores Relations With Egypt

CAIRO (UPI) — Qatar reopened diplomatic relations with Egypt on Wednesday, becoming the ninth Arab country to do so after the Arab League summit meeting last week. Fourteen Arab countries, or two-thirds of the league members, now have full diplomatic ties with Egypt.

The official Middle East News Agency in Cairo said Qatar's decision came at a cabinet meeting Wednesday presided over by Sheikh Khalifa bin Hamad al-Thani, ruler of the moderate Gulf state. Qatar was the last of the six members of the Gulf Cooperation Council to restore ties.

The United Arab Emirates, also a member of the Gulf economic grouping, initiated the rapprochement at the summit meeting in Amman, Jordan. Arab states broke with Egypt after the signing of U.S.-sponsored peace treaties between Egypt and Israel in 1979, but the Gulf War is now seen as a greater threat in the Arab world.

### Israel Orders Expulsion of Palestinian

JERUSALEM (NYT) — Mubarak Awad, a Palestinian-American advocate of nonviolent resistance to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, has been ordered to leave his homeland by Friday.

The official Israeli explanation for the expulsion is that Mr. Awad, having obtained a U.S. passport several years ago, is no longer entitled to residence in Jerusalem, his birthplace. However, liberal Israeli parliament members said the real reason Mr. Awad was being expelled was because he is the most dangerous Palestinian of all: one who is not a "terrorist" but advocates nonviolence and peaceful negotiations to achieve a Palestinian state alongside Israel.

The U.S. Embassy is trying to get the decision reversed, in what is rapidly developing into a diplomatic spat between the United States and Israel. Mr. Awad declared at a press conference on Wednesday that he would seek asylum in a church, mosque or synagogue in Jerusalem and force the Israeli government to drag him out, unless the expulsion order was rescinded.

### Dhaka Opposition Rebuffs Peace Bid

DHAKA, Bangladesh (Reuters) — Bangladesh opposition sources said their movement had rebuffed a government peace overture on Wednesday and had vowed to press ahead with protests this weekend aimed at overthrowing President Hussain Mohammad Ershad.

Opposition officials, who declined to be identified, said General Ershad sent envoys to two detained opposition leaders, Sheikh Hasina Begum and Khaleda Zia, with proposals for fresh elections if the two called off their protests. But they said, both leaders turned down the proposal and reiterated their demand for General Ershad to step down.

There was no government confirmation of the peace overture. The opposition has called a 48-hour general strike starting Saturday.

### Iran Denies Danger at Atomic Plant

VIENNA (Reuters) — Damage to an unfinished Iranian nuclear power plant from Iraqi air raids is not thought to pose immediate radiation danger, an Iranian envoy said on Wednesday.

Iran had said earlier in a note to the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna that the two attacks Tuesday on the nuclear plant, 15 miles (24 kilometers) from the port of Bushehr, could have consequences similar to those of the Chernobyl accident. It asked the agency to send experts to determine the risk. On Wednesday, Iran's envoy to the agency, Syed Khalil Mousavi, said, "At the moment we do not believe there is any danger, but we hope that the experts can give us a more precise assessment." Meanwhile, in Baghdad, an Iraqi spokesman said that patients were killed and 30 were wounded Wednesday when an Iranian plane bombed a hospital at Dohuk, near the border with Turkey.

Macedonia Tense as Strikers Protest

BELGRADE (AP) — The authorities in Macedonia held an urgent meeting Wednesday to discuss the tense situation in the Yugosloslav republic amid a wave of protest against the government's anti-inflation program, the Tanjug news agency reported.

More than 5,000 workers were reported striking Wednesday in Macedonia, Yugoslavia's most undeveloped southern republic, Tanjug said. It said they were demanding higher wages and protesting the partial wage freeze and price increases of 30 percent to 70 percent imposed by the Yugoslav government on fuel, foodstuffs, transport and services over the weekend.

About 1,500 workers from a bankrupt timber plant, who started striking Oct. 23, marched Wednesday through the town of Prilep, demanding higher wages and October pay, Tanjug said. More than 15 million Yugoslavs will lose their jobs if bankruptcy laws are rigidly implemented. Officials say prices will be strictly controlled until June 30.

For the Record

Zimbabwe's most wanted dissident, Richard Gwesela, accused of the murder of a number of white farmers, has been shot and killed, Interior Minister Enos Nkala said Wednesday.

Garry Kasparov, the world chess champion, took a timeout on Wednesday, postponing until Friday the 15th game of the World Chess Championship with the challenger, Anatoli Karпов.

Kenyan policemen who attacked a British journalist, Lindsey Hilsum, fractured a bone in her spine, she said Wednesday. She was among four Nairobi-based Western correspondents beaten, kicked and punched by the police Sunday as they covered a student riot at the University of Nairobi.

## TRAVEL UPDATE

### Strike Disrupts Rome, Milan Flights

ROME (Reuters) — Dozens of flights were canceled at the Rome and Milan airports on Wednesday when ground employees went on strike to back demands for a new contract, airline officials said.

Rome airport ground workers also plan a 24-hour stoppage Sunday. The three main Italian union federations have called a general strike for Nov. 25 in protest against government plans to shelve tax cuts.

The European Parliament approved strict new limits Wednesday on car exhaust pollution, clearing the way for their implementation. Basically the legislation prevents members nations of the European Community from excluding the import of cars complying with these rules.

## EXILE: Expatriates Find 2 Soviet Unions, One a Step Up and the Other a Living Hell

(Continued from Page 1)

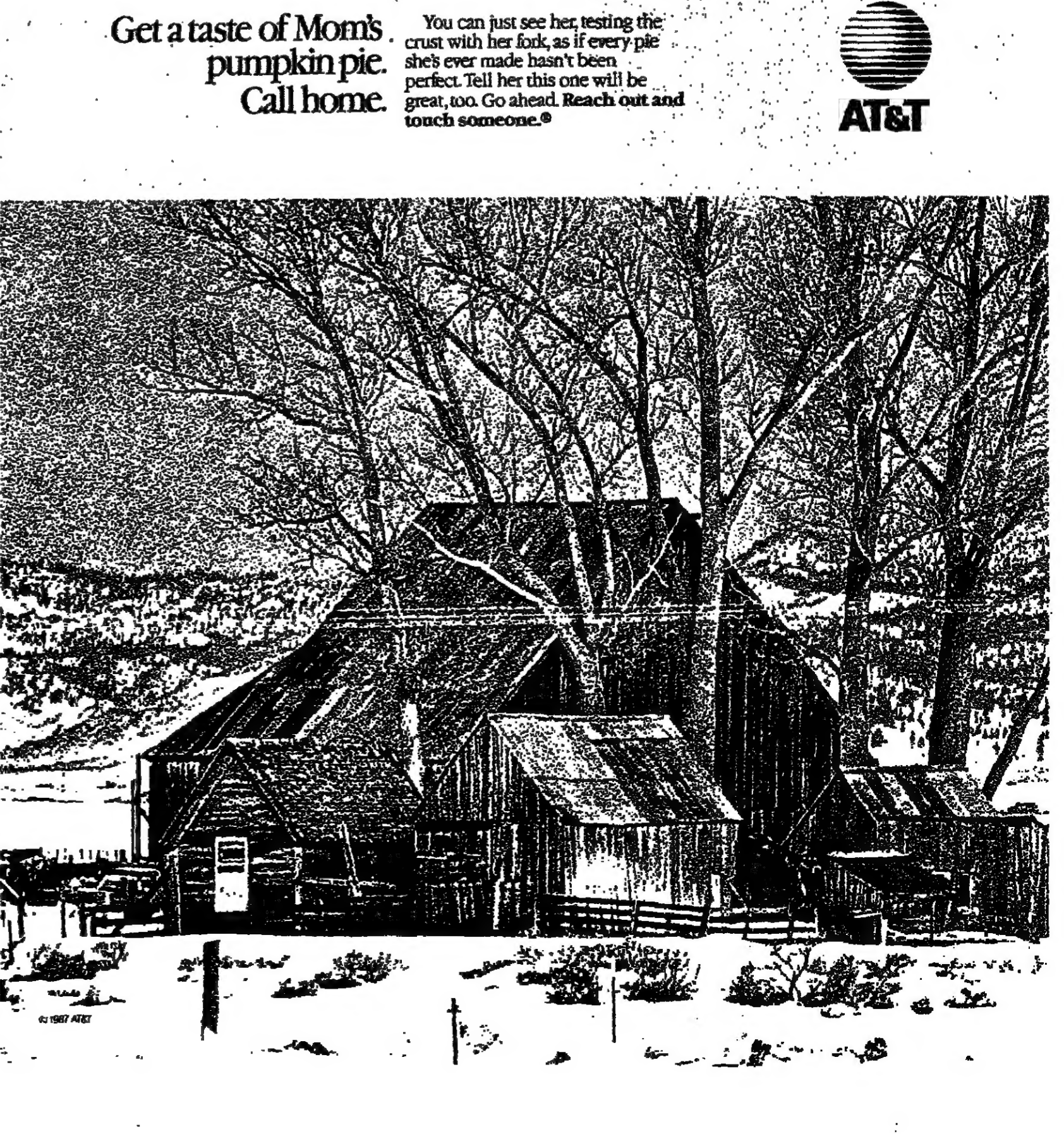
Kiev, sharing the pension of his ailing mother and unable to obtain employment, he contends, because officials are punishing him for his time in the United States.

"They tell me don't even seek a janitor's job," he said in a telephone interview from Kiev. He noted that his years as a teacher and translator count for nothing on his Soviet employment papers.



But Mr. Kammell's adaptation is beyond arguments close to keep the thousands of tired blacksmiths found so hard that he, by his lack of luck, for granted.

"Oh if I ever see you," he said, "I will mean clean and to a new."





## In India, a Test of Will Between Government and a Newspaper

By Richard M. Weintraub  
Washington Post Service

**NEW DELHI** — The Indian government has escalated its battle against the Indian Express, moving in the last few days to take over its New Delhi headquarters and printing plant and serving notice that it may try to take control of the entire group of Express newspapers.

The test of wills pits the government of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi against the publisher of the English-language paper, Ram Nath Goenka, 84, and his young, firebrand editor, Arun Shourie.

It is the clearest test of the position of the press in Indian democracy since Mr. Gandhi's mother, Indira, exercised absolute powers during a period of emergency rule in the 1970s.

The paper has campaigned against alleged corruption in the government. The Editors Guild of India asserted Tuesday that the attempted expropriation of the paper's building "is proof positive of

the government's vindictiveness toward the Indian Express for having carried out a campaign against it."

The guild did not comment on the merits of the government's charges. However, it said in a statement that "the manner and timing of the government's offensive" had left no doubt that the government's aim was "to cripple the Indian Ex-

press and stifle the voice of dissent. This is a direct attack on the freedom of the press and wholly condemnable."

Government spokesmen deny such assertions and say that they are only enforcing the law. "Just look at the Indian papers," one spokesman said. "There is plenty of dissent."

The actions against the Indian Express are the outgrowth of long-running legal disputes. The latest moves include court actions to take over the paper's New Delhi plant for alleged violations of lease agreements.

Also, notices have been served to three corporate offices of the Express group under India's Companies Act that the government is investigating the company's methods of operation. The combined circulation of the papers in the group is about 600,000.

Express executives said the government action was a preliminary step to removing the company's directors and naming a government-appointed board.

The paper has taken the lead in trying to implicate officials of Mr. Gandhi's government in alleged payoffs for purchasing artillery from the Swedish arms manufacturer Bofors.

In September, as the paper's allegations were making Mr. Gandhi's political position increasingly difficult, raids were conducted on Express offices around the country to check into alleged tax and foreign currency violations.

A series of charges on these issues have followed, as have continuing interrogations of company officials, withholding of government-controlled newspaper, delays in releasing imported equipment and other steps that the company's management calls harassment.

Officials of the newspaper also say that a violent strike that has shut down its Delhi edition for several weeks is backed by Mr. Gandhi's Congress (I) Party. The strike said we won't proceed against those who break the law."

The latest move against the Express property in New Delhi is an outgrowth of patterns of land con-

rol in which much prime property is owned by the government, which leases it to companies and individuals.

The government and the Express have been in and out of court for almost a decade over whether the newspaper is illegally leasing portions of its building, which is supposed to be used only to publish the newspaper.

A half dozen other companies operate from the Express building at considerable profit to the paper.

The government order this week took legal control of the property, saying all rents should be paid to it and not to the Express while the government seeks a court order to allow it to take physical possession of the building.

Express officials said they would go this week to the Supreme Court to ask to have the action overturned. The officials noted that a half dozen other publications do the same thing but that the government has done no more than write letters to them for years.

Spokesmen for Mr. Gandhi's party and for the government deny all such charges and point to alleged illegality. One government spokesman said, "We have never prepared to press the rebels on an interim government."

Some U.S. officials have said that with a timetable in hand the United States would probably begin discussions with rebel leaders about political compromise.

On the other hand, Moscow has insisted privately that an agreement on an interim government must precede the setting of a timetable. One diplomat said he thought the Soviet side would agree to a shorter timetable if it became clear that a suitable interim government could be formed.

Consequently, the Kremlin has urged that the Afghan Communists, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, should form the core of a transitional government, holding the key cabinet posts. The Afghan rebels have refused to consider sharing power with people they consider collaborators.

That the Soviet leader would use the summit meeting to announce a new timetable for Afghanistan.

At a briefing, the spokesman, Yuri Gremitskiy, described the Soviet position as unchanged in its emphasis on the need for guarantees against continued foreign support for the rebels. The United States, Saudi Arabia and Iran are among those providing funds and arms to the guerrillas.

According to the American in Geneva, the Soviet deputy foreign minister, Yuli A. Vorontsov, has seemed haunted by the parallels between the Soviet predicament in Afghanistan and the American experience in Vietnam. He keeps making such statements as, "We're not going to have a solution that

leaves us with our last people leaving Kabul on the struts of helicopters," the American said.

This reflects what appears to be a Soviet preoccupation with the creation of an interim government that could prevent what Moscow fears would otherwise be a blood-bath, with rebel reprisals against Afghan officials who have served in the Soviet-backed regime.

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## Stockholm Again Raises Palme Reward Tenfold

International Herald Tribune

**PARIS** — The Swedish government has raised to 30 million kronor (\$8.2 million) its reward for information leading to a solution of the murder of Olof Palme.

The prime minister was shot and killed by a lone assassin on a Stockholm street on Feb. 28, 1986. Immediately after the killing, the government offered a reward of 3,000,000 kronor, which it increased to 5 million in March.

The new tenfold increase in the reward was announced in an advertisement Thursday in the International Herald Tribune. It is scheduled to be published four times.

Leif Hallberg, chief spokesman for the national police board, said by telephone that the advertisement did not indicate that the investigation had come to a dead end.

"I understand that could be an interpretation, but it is not so," he said. "We would like to get any help possible to find the details that

are still missing to help us to complete the inquiry."

Mr. Hallberg said the size of the reward was "a reflection of the Swedish government's determination that this case must be solved, because it leaves question marks not only about who killed Mr. Palme but also whether there was a plot against Swedish society."

More than 70 detectives are working full-time on the case, Mr. Hallberg said. The police have opened files on 28,000 people and investigated 40,000 leads in the case.

"The technique of detective work is that you don't abandon any lead until the inquiry is finished," Mr. Hallberg said. "Leads that appear dead and cold at the moment might get hot again in the light of new information coming in."

He said there was no significance to the fact that the advertisement was being published in French and Spanish as well as English, except that the police wanted to reach the widest possible audience.

## Moscow Appears Ready to Compromise on Afghanistan Pullout

By David K. Shipler  
New York Times Service

**WASHINGTON** — A recent flurry of diplomatic activity has raised new speculation that the Soviet Union may be ready to compromise on a timetable for the withdrawal of its 115,000 troops from Afghanistan.

Moscow has made no formal offer for a withdrawal period shorter than 16 months after military aid for the Afghan rebels is ended. However, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, Gennadi I. Gerasimov, said at a news conference Monday in Munich that a pullout could take place in 7 to 12 months if a formula for "national reconciliation" were reached. This means

agreement on the composition of an interim Afghan government.

Such a timetable would be closer to what is envisioned by the Reagan administration, which worries that Soviet forces could use a long period following a cutoff in U.S. aid to the guerrillas to stage devastating attacks on rebel units. Pakistan, where most of the Afghan rebels are based, has proposed a withdrawal period of no more than eight months.

Diego Cordovez, the United Nations undersecretary-general for political affairs, said Tuesday that he would not convene another round of the indirect Afghan-Pakistan talks he has been mediating "unless I'm convinced that an

agreement on a timetable can be reached."

Mr. Cordovez is also understood, however, to be planning a trip to the region in mid-December, reportedly to begin discussions on who would participate in a transitional Afghan government.

In Geneva, a U.S. official involved in preparatory talks for the U.S.-Soviet summit meeting said there were signs that Moscow might put forward a new timetable before or during the Dec. 7-10 meeting between President Ronald Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev in Washington.

A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman in Moscow, however, denounced as a "distortion" speculation in the West European press

that the Soviet leader would use the summit meeting to announce a new timetable for Afghanistan.

At a briefing, the spokesman, Yuri Gremitskiy, described the Soviet position as unchanged in its emphasis on the need for guarantees against continued foreign support for the rebels. The United States, Saudi Arabia and Iran are among those providing funds and arms to the guerrillas.

According to the American in Geneva, the Soviet deputy foreign minister, Yuli A. Vorontsov, has seemed haunted by the parallels between the Soviet predicament in Afghanistan and the American experience in Vietnam. He keeps making such statements as, "We're not going to have a solution that

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## INTERNATIONAL POSITIONS

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**ARDORE** Italy — Domenico Vassallo, 42, businessman kidnapped in May, was freed near this southern town after his family paid a ransom of 800 million lire (about \$640,000), the police said Wednesday.

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SCIENCE

# The Heart of the Sex Difference

By Gina Kolata

**MEN AND WOMEN** are different at heart, literally.

Medical scientists are both perplexed and intrigued by a growing body of evidence that shows differences in the way women and men develop heart disease. The findings suggest there may be important biological distinctions between the sexes in the functioning and development of the heart and cardiovascular system.

The distinctions need to be understood, experts say, because they may provide new insights into the causes and treatment of heart disease in both sexes.

So far, virtually all studies of methods to prevent or treat heart disease have been done in men, with the results assumed to apply to women. This is partly because the emphasis has been on reducing the rate of heart attacks among the middle-aged, and most middle-aged heart attack victims are men. But later in life heart attacks are the leading cause of death in women too, and some researchers are now looking into the aspects of heart disease that are unique to women.

The experts all stress that women should continue to follow established guidelines for heart disease prevention, such as avoiding smoking and high-fat diets and curbing high blood pressure.

There certainly are differences, said Dr. Peter Frommer, deputy director of the National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute, who characterized the new evidence as "fascinating leads."

On Monday, researchers at a meeting of the American Heart Association, in Anaheim, California, reported that women who have had children tend to have wider coronary arteries, which may help explain their protection from early heart attacks. Others at the meeting reported a study of monkeys indicating another difference: On a high-fat diet, female monkeys tend to produce more high-density lipoproteins, HDL, which carry cholesterol away from blood vessels, than male monkeys do.

Another recent finding highlights the inadequacy of drawing conclusions about women from studies of men. Researchers found that a high level of fats called triglycerides by itself portends heart

disease in women, even in the absence of high cholesterol levels. This is not true of men.

The most obvious difference is that women tend to develop coronary heart disease far later in life than men. Heart disease becomes the No. 1 killer of women in their mid-60s, but it is the No. 1 killer of men at the age of 39. That disparity points to the long-assumed protection offered to premenopausal women by their hormones.

Scientists now believe it may be too simplistic to expect the hormone estrogen alone to explain differences in heart disease.

Dr. Antonio Gotto, of the Baylor College of Medicine, in Houston, believes there are cellular and biochemical differences in female blood vessels. "I feel confident that female blood vessels have some inherent protection," Dr. Gotto said. He speculated that female blood vessels may be better able to repair early damage from high blood pressure, for example, preventing the development of artery-clogging plaques.

Women have different symptoms of heart disease than men. Women often have pains on and off for a long time before they have a heart attack; in men, chest pains are more often a sign that a heart attack has begun.

Women who have a heart attack are twice as likely as men to die within 60 days.

Diabetes seems to eliminate the protection accorded women in their earlier years, whereas it seems to have less effect on men.

Contributing to the sense of mystery is the finding that women do only half as well as men in bypass surgery. Although a relatively simple reason is suggested—women have smaller hearts, more difficult to operate on, and they tend to come into the operation older and sicker than men do—not everyone is convinced that this is the whole story.

The aim of the heart researchers is not just to improve the prevention and treatment of heart disease in older women but to learn what protects younger women from heart disease, and perhaps to use the knowledge to help men.

Dr. William Castelli, director of a long-range heart study in Framingham, Massachusetts, bemoaned the lack of attention being



John Glick

given to heart disease in women. "Their signs and symptoms are not being taken seriously because of the myth that women don't get heart attacks," he said.

The Framingham study is a major source of data on women and heart disease because it follows both men and women throughout their lives, correlating such factors as blood chemistry and lifestyle with the incidence of heart disease. Two similar federally funded studies, in Tecumseh, Michigan, and Evans County, Georgia, and a study in Rancho Bernardo, near San Diego, are among the few to include women.

Framingham and Evans County data indicate that women are at particular risk of heart disease if they have high levels of triglycerides in their blood, said Dr. Millcent Higgins, of the heart institute. In men, according to Dr. Castelli, triglycerides do not predict heart disease risk independently of other factors, such as blood cholesterol.

"Triglyceride," Dr. Castelli said, "is the chemical name for what most of us think of as fat. Corn oil is pure triglyceride." He explained that triglycerides in the blood are converted by the body to low-density lipoproteins, or LDL, which carry cholesterol to the blood vessels, and may contribute to artery-clogging plaques in other ways, too. He said he did not know why triglycerides should be so much more dangerous in women than in men, and added that the importance of triglyceride levels is usually overlooked in women.

Framingham and Rancho Bernardo data also point to the importance of diabetes as a risk factor for

women. As far as heart disease goes, Dr. Castelli said, "women with diabetes are no longer like women. They are like men."

And the Framingham data indicate that "there are different initial symptoms of heart disease in men and women," he said. Women tend to have chest pains or a feeling of pressure in the chest as their first sign, whereas men tend to have heart attacks.

Of 1,600 women studied in Framingham, only 6 had heart attacks before menopause, Dr. Castelli said. Although it is often assumed that female sex hormones are what protect premenopausal women against heart attacks, experts say the exact link has never been firmly established.

"It is very attractive to think that female sex hormones are good for you and male sex hormones are bad for you, but in point of fact, the data are mixed," said Dr. Elizabeth Barrett-Connor of the University of California at San Diego. "Most of us don't believe it anymore."

In support of estrogen's purported beneficial effects are several reports indicating that women who take estrogen supplements after menopause are less likely to have heart attacks. But the Framingham data did not show a protective effect and there are many unanswered questions.

The heart institute will soon begin a study of female hormones and heart disease. The study will involve about 1,000 post-menopausal women who will take various combinations of estrogen and another female sex hormone, progesterone.

One hypothesis is that estrogen protects against heart disease by increasing the concentrations of the beneficial HDLs and decreasing the concentrations of harmful LDLs. But there is a trade-off, said Dr. Basil Rifkind, of the heart institute. Estrogen also increases the tendency of blood to clot, which in itself can increase the chances of a heart attack.

In the late 1960s, the heart institute studied the use of estrogen supplements in men and concluded not only that the men were not protected against heart disease but that they may have had an even higher death rate from blood clots when they took the female hormone.



## Loss of Tritium A Peace Factor

By Matthew L. Wald

**WITH** aging, faltering plants its sole source of supply, the U.S. government must soon decide whether to build expensive new facilities to produce tritium, a vital and perishable ingredient of nuclear bombs.

The poor condition of the production reactors—two are broken down and the other three are limited to half power—makes possible an interruption in supply. Such a halt would leave nuclear warheads losing potency in their silos, as batteries lose their charge on a supermarket shelf. Adding to the sense of urgency, a recent study by the National Academy of Sciences said that it may take as long to build a new production reactor as the surviving three will last.

The Department of Energy is expected to seek funds soon to build one or two new reactors to produce tritium, a radioactive form of hydrogen, and plutonium, another bomb fuel produced in the same reactors. But each plant would cost billions, and some experts question whether they are necessary.

Even limited arms reductions, such as those in the treaty on nuclear forces in Europe now under negotiation, could reduce the need for fresh tritium since supplies could be scavenged from disassembled weapons. Some experts even suggest that by halting tritium production, the East and West could

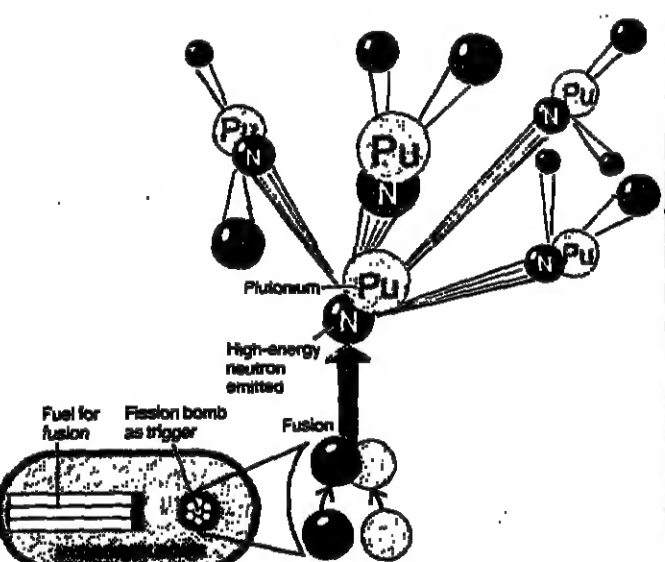
achieve disarmament. With no new supplies, the argument goes, nations would have to steadily reduce arsenals to keep potent tritium in the remaining weapons.

While plutonium production is required to expand the nuclear arsenal, tritium production is needed simply to maintain existing weapons. This is because tritium breaks down naturally at the rate of about 5.5 percent per year. Plutonium, in contrast, is eternal, at least on the human time scale.

Tritium has become increasingly important to the nuclear arsenal. As a "booster" in the trigger portion of a hydrogen bomb, tritium is essential to reducing the size of warheads, allowing more warheads per missile, or the fitting of warheads to smaller missiles.

Tritium is a variant or isotope of hydrogen. In nature, the common form of the hydrogen atom has a nucleus of a single proton. A naturally occurring isotope is deuterium. Each deuterium nucleus contains one proton and one neutron; one in 6,000 hydrogen atoms is tritium.

Tritium, the third isotope, has a nucleus with one proton and two neutrons. It does not occur naturally; it is made in reactors by firing a neutron at the nucleus of lithium-6, which consists of three protons and three neutrons. When a neutron is added, the atom throws off two neutrons and two protons. This leaves one proton and two neutrons, which is tritium.



Tritium's role in powering a bomb.

The three active tritium-producing reactors are all at least 30 years old and all at the Energy Department's Savannah River Plant, near Aiken, South Carolina. The newest production reactor, a plutonium-producing reactor at the Hanford nuclear reservation in southeastern Washington, commissioned in 1963 and intended to run for 20 years, was used briefly a few years ago to make tritium, with disappointing results. The reactor has been closed since the beginning of the year for safety improvements.

Tritium has two roles in nuclear weapons: in the fusion that causes the main explosion and, in the latest weapons, in the fission trigger.

In the fusion that takes place in a hydrogen bomb, an atom of deuterium and an atom of tritium are forced together under extremely high heat provided by a fission trigger. Bombs are designed to produce the tritium for this stage internally, using neutrons from the fission trigger, in a process much like that in a reactor.

But tritium must be supplied for use as the booster in the bomb trigger, where its function is to rapidly multiply the number of neutrons, subatomic particles that sustain a fission reaction.

Fission, the splitting of atoms in a chain reaction, is the process that powers civilian power reactors as well as bombs like those dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In a simple chain reaction, as in a civilian power reactor, a neutron is fired at the nucleus of a uranium atom, splitting it. The split nucleus releases energy and a small number of neutrons. Some are absorbed by non-fissionable material. In a power reactor at equilibrium, each split nucleus gives off, on average, one neutron that later splits another nucleus.

When a fission trigger is fueled by uranium or plutonium, enough neutrons are freed in each generation of fissioning to double the number of nuclei split in the next generation: in microseconds, one fissioning produces two more fissions, which produce four, then eight, and so on.

But this process can only occur when there are enough atoms compressed in a "critical mass" of fuel. Usually, chemical explosives are used to get this process started. But

as fission progresses, the critical mass tends to blow apart, stopping the process. Theodore B. Taylor, a weapons designer at Los Alamos National Laboratory in the 1950s and now a private consultant, said some bombs would fission no more than 0.5 percent of the available fuel before exploding.

This is where tritium comes in. When tritium and deuterium fuse, they emit a neutron whose energy is much higher than those emitted in fission. Each high energy neutron, when it strikes another nucleus, produces four, not two, neutrons. So the "fission" trigger that incorporates the fusion of tiny amounts of deuterium and tritium produces the same power from much less fuel.

Tritium is also used in the production of neutron bombs, weapons intended to kill people with radiation rather than destroy a target with a shock wave. In such a bomb, tritium helps produce a greater number of neutrons from the same amount of plutonium. The government has apparently dropped plans to produce large numbers of neutron bombs.

The volume of tritium used in triggers is probably small. The Nuclear Weapons Database, a 1987 publication of the Natural Resources Defense Council, a non-profit environmental group, estimated the Energy Department tritium inventory at 86 kilograms; with about 25,000 warheads, that means less than four grams per warhead.

Since the bombs are not refueled daily, their tritium reservoirs must have a surplus built in to allow for natural decay. In addition, the Energy Department has a central stockpile, which itself is disappearing at the rate of 5.5 percent a year. Tritium decays into a form of helium.

How often the bombs must be re-charged, and how long the stockpile would suffice before the arsenal began to degrade, is classified information, according to a spokesman for the Energy Department.

David Albright, senior staff scientist of the Federation of American Scientists, an arms-control group, said that without arms reduction, maintaining the nuclear stockpile would require about 10 kilograms of tritium per year.

### IN BRIEF

#### A Different View of Life's Beginnings

PASADENA, California (AP)—Life on Earth was delayed for several hundred million years by a shroud of dust kicked up by large comets or meteorites smashing into the planet, according to a study by the astronomer Carl Sagan and David Grinspoon, a University of Arizona graduate student. "If life could get going only after sunlight reached the surface of the primitive Earth, then there's several hundred million years less time for the origin of life," Dr. Sagan said.

Some biologists, while calling the dust-shroud concept reasonable, disputed Dr. Sagan's conclusion that darkness and cold delayed the beginning of life in the oceans. If life did start later than once believed, it means "the origin of life is easy, very quick," Dr. Sagan said. "For at least the first few hundred million years of Earth's history, there was a permanent, very thick cloud of fine debris surrounding the planet," Dr. Sagan said. They reasoned that since the dust shroud existed for several hundred million years after the planet formed, life started roughly 4 billion years ago.

#### Exercise and Sex in the Golden Years

WALTHAM, Massachusetts (UPI)—People who vigorously exercise in their later years have a much higher level of sexual activity than do people with more sedentary lifestyles. Researchers at Bentley College surveyed 160 competitive swimmers between the ages 40 and 80 and compared their responses with a group the same ages who were not physically active.

The groups had the same amount of interest in sex, but the active group reported higher levels of sexual activity. Over 90 percent of the swimmers over age 60 reported they were sexually active and had sex at least once a week. Only 63 percent of the non-swimmers said the same thing.

"Contrary to popular opinion, most people retain an interest in sex well into old age," said Philip Whitten, a professor of behavior science. "What is clear is that if you are physically fit you're likely to maintain an active and rewarding sex life."

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chef at the bistro from 1958  
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small apartment above the res  
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## Votes for Afghanistan

The new face that Mikhail Gorbachev has put on Soviet foreign policy came up for judging in the United Nations the other day. The Soviets had spent a year preparing to blunt the annual condemnation they receive for their aggression in Afghanistan. Having anticipated last November the withdrawal of Soviet troops "in the near future," Mr. Gorbachev licensed the Soviet press to spread publicly — and Soviet diplomats to spread privately — hints of discontent with the war and of readiness to consider a political compromise to end it. Moscow's man in Kabul, Major General Najib, launched a program of "national reconciliation" and had spruced up some of the prisons enough to permit a first on-site inspection by a UN human rights investigator. A deftly worded resolution was prepared for the General Assembly debate.

The whole effort collapsed. A year earlier, 122 nations had demanded immediate Soviet withdrawal. This year the figure was 123. There are political strings on the Afghan scene, and the human rights investigator, Felix Ermacora of Austria, found "some improvements" in government-controlled areas. To most people in Afghanistan, however, the Soviets remain brutal invaders, and the Afghans they have tried

to prop up remain without legitimacy. To most members of the General Assembly, the Soviets are still killing in a foreign country. The ambassador of Iran, which the Kremlin is assiduously courting in another weak — for one thing, he complained, it did not name "Soviet aggressor forces" — but noted that an invasion of one Islamic country constitutes an attack upon them all.

Mr. Gorbachev, it is said, needs a face-saver. A great power cannot simply call it quits, cut its own losses and abandon (or carry out to safety) Afghans who relied on it and whom it used. It is precisely the search for a face-saving middle ground, however, that now sustains the war. The Soviets have one possible alternative: hoping that Afghan bombs or American anti-nuclear weapons will limit the crucial support that Pakistan provides to the Afghan resistance. But otherwise they cannot avoid recognizing the dead end to which their own past choices have brought them.

The United States pledges — and the logic of the situation reinforces the pledge — not to exploit a Soviet withdrawal for American strategic purposes. The Kremlin, however, must withdraw.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Trivializing the Affair

Eight Republican members of the Iran-contra committees say of President Reagan's role in the affair that he made "mistakes in judgment, and nothing more." They appear, in a minority report, to be more veiled at their committee colleagues for reaching harsher conclusions than at Mr. Reagan. Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North and others for bringing American weapons to the Nicaraguan rebels. Congress said clearly that arms should not be provided to the contras. Administration officials went ahead anyway, against the law and with or without presidential knowledge. Adherence to the Constitution should have caused Mr. Reagan to work out his differences with Congress, something that even the minority report finally acknowledges.

The Iran-contra affair raised fundamental questions of law and policy. The Republicans who signed the minority report do a disservice to their party and country by dismissing it as simply an issue of perspective and a matter of judgment. Their report is surely a matter of judgment: poor and partisan.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Tolerating Pesticides

America's most serious environmental problem may be the one the government is doing least about. That is the dosing of the land and food supply with pesticides. The trend of neglect seems likely to continue this year. Legislation to give some life to the near-dead regulatory process appears to be slipping. The more immediate problems of the budget and farm credit system have taken precedence in the agriculture committees.

The shaky truce between the chemical companies and environmental groups that almost ended in compromise in the last Congress has reverted to the adversarial relationship that produced the stalemates of the past. The Senate Agriculture Committee may yet report a bill this year, but further action in Congress will apparently have to occur amid the distractions and crowded calendar of an election year. It is not a happy prospect.

The present system of regulating pesticides was set up in 1972. The brand new Environmental Protection Agency was to have the jobs both of regulating new pesticides and of re-evaluating by modern standards the old ones already on the market. The old ones — there are about 600 active ingredients — still constitute the bulk of pesticides in use. But the agency has worked its way through only a handful. It is almost as if the 1972 law had never been passed.

Last year's compromise and this year's Senate bill would shorten the reapproval

process and set deadlines. All the old chemicals would have to be re-evaluated within nine years. That would be by 1977, 25 years after the initial act, during which pesticide use and exposure will have steadily increased. That hardly seems too much to ask.

Because cost has been made an issue, the bill would impose fees on the chemical companies to help finance the program, and would reduce the large indemnities to which the law now entitles them if their products are banned. But the companies would be given some patent concessions in return. The legislation would also require the states to take steps against the leaching of pesticides into groundwater, an increasingly serious problem. And foreign buyers of U.S. pesticides would have to be made aware of limitations on their application in America.

It is hard to imagine legislation much tamer or more necessary than this. Even so, it has met resistance. Opponents are even seeking to use it in some respects to weaken existing law. They would reduce the right of states to set higher-than-federal regulatory standards of their own. That would be wrong. The states have been the major source of regulatory energy in recent years. Instead of turning the state motors off, Congress should turn the federal motor on. It is mindless to keep using these potent chemicals without a closer look at their effect.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Other Comment

### Angola: From Bad to Worse

Soviet and Cuban military advisers apparently encouraged Angola to undertake a massive escalation of its anti-guerrilla war. A better strategy would have been an escalation of negotiations. As the battle spread, South Africa deepened its military commitment to Jonas Savimbi, sending its troops into battle against the Angolan government forces and their Soviet and Cuban allies. Pretoria claims it turned the tide of battle. Also at the heart of Mr. Savimbi's strength were the arms and munitions of the United States, including Stinger missiles.

The government of Angola must share the blame for the deterioration of the situation. The massive military campaign was a bold rejection of U.S. efforts to win a negotiated settlement of the civil war. We regret the stubbornness of the government in refusing to negotiate a settlement with Mr. Savimbi, even though his goals have always been ambiguous and his constituency limited.

Nevertheless, the intrusion of South African troops and the infusion of American arms can only make matters worse. Angola

is a pathetically impoverished nation struggling for survival. It desperately needs peace so that the process of economic development can proceed. Ideologies are irrelevant in such circumstances. All black African states, struggling with much the same problems as Angola, feel betrayed when foreign powers make battlefields of their hungry lands. The United States has much to gain by ending military involvement, opposing South Africa's aggression, speeding the process of negotiation and rejecting all excuses that delay independence for Namibia. That, in turn, will eliminate the rationale for Soviet and Cuban troops.

— The Los Angeles Times.

During the past few years there have been reports that Cuban troops in Angola are getting more and more dissatisfied. On the other hand, UNITA has been gaining in strength, especially under South African tutelage. It is also strongly backed by the United States. If UNITA can deliver a stunning blow to the Angolan government forces, it would be a superb propaganda victory.

— The Nation (Bangkok).

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## OPINION

## The Soviet Dictator Has to Keep Control

By Jerry F. Hough

DURHAM, North Carolina — The demotion of Boris Yeltsin, from the Moscow party leadership to a government post, has again raised questions about Mikhail Gorbachev's strength and the future of reform. The West's understanding of this development is complicated by an oversimplified view of reform politics and the balance of social forces in the Soviet Union.

The problem is that reform in the Soviet Union is not a package but has at least five different facets, each arousing different levels of enthusiasm in different people, including Mr. Yeltsin and Mr. Gorbachev:

- A drive against corruption, alcoholism and lack of discipline at work.
- The greater use of market mechanisms, and an evolution away from state socialism based on monopolistic ministries to what Mr. Gorbachev calls "cooperative socialism" based on private or cooperative enterprises.
- Glasnost. The term, chosen because of its ambiguity, can include criticism of bureaucrats,

more publicity, looser censorship of policy debate and culture, an opening to Western ideas.

- Broader participation in elections — democratization — and, at its extreme, toleration of political group activity independent of the party.
- A changed relationship to foreigners. The essence of the 1917 revolution was the creation of two iron curtains — one against Western culture and ideas, the other against Western market forces. Its most striking symbol today is the lack of a single French or Italian restaurant in Moscow. This aspect of reform entails, in Mr. Gorbachev's words, "an end to the schism of Europe," the gradual dismantling of the iron curtains.

Many people in the Soviet Union are reformist or conservative on all five aspects, but this is far from inevitable. Mr. Yeltsin supported glasnost and joined the attack on corruption, privilege and lack of discipline, but on market reform and

relating to the West he has been more cautious.

My strong suspicion is that Mr. Yeltsin got into trouble primarily because he was reformist to the point of radicalism on democratization. In his most controversial decision, he permitted the formation in Moscow of so-called reconstruction groups, independent of the party and the Young Communist League, and allowed them last summer to hold a national convention at which radical resolutions, such as one favoring a multi-party system, were passed. Much of the recent conservative attack on Mr. Gorbachev has really been a reaction to that convention.

It would be wrong, in the conflict between Mr. Yeltsin and the conservatives, to see Mr. Gorbachev as Mr. Yeltsin's ally. For Mr. Gorbachev is also worried lest democratization proceed too fast. While determined to reform the economy and open the Soviet Union to the West, he is much more dubious about political activity outside the party. What really worries him is not the conservatives but the liberal opposition.

The Soviet Union has become an industrial, middle-class society. Between 1970 and 1979, the proportion of workers with a high school diploma rose from 20 percent to 42 percent. Such changes typically make life difficult for dictators, and the Soviet Union is no different. Soviet workers and bureaucrats under 60 ultimately want more radical political reform than does Mr. Gorbachev. His problem is to make sure that the social reform he wants does not lurch out of control.

That is why Mr. Yeltsin was such a danger and why Mr. Gorbachev suppressed him so cautiously. Such actions are not incompatible with economic reform and an opening to the West. To Mr. Gorbachev are politically necessary for them. The West should stop worrying about Mr. Gorbachev. He is a dictator consolidating his power. We share common interests — including the shifting of resources from defense to economic investment — and on these we should cooperate. But we should not have wishful thoughts about his commitment to democracy.

The writer, professor of political science at Duke University, is a staff member of the Brookings Institution. He contributed this to The New York Times.



## People, Not Blind Forces, Make Political History

By William Pfaff

PARIS — Inevitability is a dangerous notion. People are inclined to say that this or that event in politics or history "had" to happen. This simply is another way to say that it did happen. The October Revolution "had" to happen. Did it?

Yes it did, given that the people involved behaved in the way they did, and that the external forces at work on Russia at the time were what they were. But it is meaningless to say that. What if there had been different people, making different choices? What if Alexander Kerensky, who led the provisional government in 1917, had been a stronger man and Lenin a weaker one? Were there objective forces at work which determined how it all came out? I think not.

When Portugal had its revolution in 1975 it, too, had its Lenin, the austere and intransigent Communist leader, Alvaro Cunhal, and its Kerensky, Mario Soares. It was Henry Kissinger who dismissively called the Socialist Mr. Soares a Kerensky. Everyone knew that a moderate had no chance of stopping a Communist seizure of power in revolutionary conditions. That had been proven in Petrograd in 1917. But Mario Soares today is president of a democratic Portugal.

An implicitly deterministic way of thinking about history is one result of Marxism's influence on our century. A London writer whom I admire, Neal Ascherson of The Observer, objects to my recent column "These 70th Anniversary Rites Celebrate a Tragedy." Now, 101 which argued that Russia's people today would be a great deal

happier if there had never been an October Revolution and "if the evolutionary forces at work in the society had not been suddenly cut off."

He says the revolution was inevitable. The czar was incompetent. The pace of economic development had unsettled society. Liberal reformers were few and feeble. Only the Socialists had any popular following. He asks, as I did, whether if the first revolution in February 1917, which

given rise to the peculiar "disasters and blunders" associated with Stalin? For Stalinism, the Russians have Stalin to blame, together with the people who put up with Stalin, or collaborated with him. Stalin was not an objective force of history.

It is an important general point. Was Hitlerism the product of objective forces? A German revolution may have been made "inevitable" — which is to say, overwhelmingly likely

**A destructive legacy of Marxism has left people with the notion that laws govern history.**

produced the czar's abdication and a moderate government, had not taken place in the midst of the world war. Russia might not "have become a Socialist-led parliamentary democracy" instead of a Socialist dictatorship run by the Bolshevik minority.

He answers that even if it had, "all the disasters and blunders of the Stalin period" probably could not have been avoided, because growth would have slowed, foreign investment would have fled and "a showdown with the peasantry" was bound to come. Moderation would not have survived.

It certainly is possible that a more or less representative and moderate government would eventually have foundered, above all if it tried to carry out the forced-draft heavy industrialization that obsessed, and obsessed, Marxists. But why should this have

— by the injustices of the Versailles settlement, the weakness of the Weimar Republic and the muddled ideas of its leaders, the foolish and reactionary outlook of the German officer corps, inflation, world depression, and so on and on. But Hitler?

Hitler, like Stalin, was a responsible man, possessing particular ideas — the product of ideas in the air, the writings of a variety of intellectuals and publicists and cranks, his own experiences — but nonetheless his own ideas. He acted on those ideas, and on his own ambitions, making use of his extraordinary and individual power to influence those around him and to manipulate mass emotion.

As in post-revolutionary Russia, another leader, another individual, could have sprung forward in Germany, and everything would have been different.

## Foreign Students in America Can Benefit Both Sides

By Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber and Herbert Simon

PITTSBURGH — The United States has had trouble in the 1980s with aspects of world leadership, from industrial competitiveness to arms control, from the Pacific rim to the Gulf. But in one area, higher education, it today reigns supreme. And that has created a problem of its own: a tidal wave of foreign students.

American brainpower has always been enhanced by immigrants. What is new is the extent of foreign penetration of U.S. higher education. More than 300,000 foreign students

of policy is it that subsidizes America's corporate rivals with millions of dollars' worth of vital research? There is little doubt that American taxpayers are subsidizing the boom. The tuition paid by foreign students is "less than half" of the yearly cost of training a graduate engineering student, according to the University of Michigan. This strikes a growing number of Americans as unfair. Why

**The loss that foreign countries experience is more than repaid when nearly half of them return.**

were enrolled in American universities last year, 60 percent of them in technical fields. But only 30,000 American students attend universities overseas. Of these, perhaps 10 percent study in areas such as engineering, computer science and physics.

Foreigners who earn Ph.D.s from American universities provide the most impressive (and, to some U.S. taxpayers, shocking) evidence of this boom. Statistics from the National Science Foundation show that from 1963 to 1983 the percentage of foreign-born doctoral students in industrial engineering grew from 7 to 68, in mechanical engineering from 28 to 60, in electrical engineering from 23 to 52, in chemical engineering from 22 to 52.

The other field that attracted most foreigners was computer science (including artificial intelligence, robotics, software engineering and cognitive science). Last year, foreign students made up 40 percent of Ph.D. candidates in such fields.

For the first time in modern history, one country seems to serve, at least in the advanced sciences, as the university of the world. "The United States is viewed, worldwide, as the place to come and study in the sciences," says John Reichard, vice president of the National Association for Foreign Students.

The intellectual migration has provoked intense debate: Is it good for America to educate the world's best and brightest? How bad is it for other countries to lose some of their best brains as some students elect to remain in the United States? What kind

should an American university charge a graduate student from Tokyo the same as a student from Toledo? If the Japanese student wants American education so badly, let him (or his government) pay for it.

Foreign governments' contributions totaled less than 2 percent of the research budgets of 100 leading U.S. research universities surveyed by the National Science Foundation.

But that may not be the principal problem. "We don't have too many foreign students, we have too few Americans," said the director of the American Society for Engineering Education, Karl Wilkenbrock. "We are not attracting enough of our students into graduate schools." Moreover, according to the science foundation, 57 percent of the 5,000 foreign students granted doctoral degrees in the sciences from American universities last year said they intended to remain in the United States.

"We have done very well with the people we got from other countries," said Peter Renz, administrator of the Conference Board, a business research group. "They include Albert Einstein and Enrico Fermi."

Some facts can help in the preparation of a balanced policy:

- Foreign students give as much as they get. They are paying for their long years of study with the most precious and expensive commodity: their labor. By working in labs for three to seven years of postgraduate study, thousands of young experts are the most efficient "subsidy" to scientific pro-

cess and economic development. And most of them do not choose, at graduation, the well paid jobs offered by industry, but stay in the tough, competitive life of research and teaching.

Foreign students are needed to meet U.S. research and development goals. If most of them returned to their countries, it would be an American disaster. The fact that more than half choose to stay multiplies the productivity and creativity of American science and engineering.

The fact that a substantial number choose to return home is also good. The great American knowledge machine could not function for long if it kept siphoning away the brainpower of America's partners around the world. The loss that foreign countries experience when students come to America is more than repaid by the new knowledge and skills acquired when nearly half of them return.

We believe that a 50-50 trade is fair. It has become important to America that a substantial fraction of the trained foreign students remain at work in the United States as long as there is a large deficit of U.S. applicants to the long, strenuous, underpaid doctoral programs.

The next 10 to 15 years are crucial. During that period the number of competing international laboratories, corporations and learning systems will continue to increase. These years will decide whether the United States remains in the first rank or falls behind. The critical difference might well be made by foreign students.

American graduate schools need more American students. Most who earn bachelor's degrees take a job or enroll in law or business colleges, opting for fields that pay better than research. They will not change that view because Congress passes new laws but because they are stimulated to compete with their colleagues from abroad. These "invaders" in scientific fields are often among the top 10 percent of graduate students. But a striking sign of America's natural generosity and courage in competition is that the excellence of foreigners breeds almost none of the anti-foreign sentiment seen in other parts of the world. The historian Barbara Tuchman re-

cently expressed misgivings: "In the United States one feels a deteriorating ethic in most spheres... When people do not care and have no goal in view they do not function at their utmost. They grow lax and accept defeat. Incompetence is the companion of decline. Competence is the ability to do work expertly, neatly and correctly. To raise the level of public understanding from frivolity to a readiness to take things seriously will require a great and concentrated national effort."

In meeting this challenge, everything will depend on maintaining excellence in higher education and repairing the quality of primary and secondary education. If foreign students should ever stop pressing for admission to American universities, it would be a sign that America has lost its last great resource.

Mr. Servan-Schreiber, a former French cabinet member, is a member of the International Council at Carnegie Mellon University. Mr. Simon is a professor of computer science and psychology at the University. They contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

## 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1887: Czar Visits Berlin

BERLIN — Alexander the Third, Emperor of Russia, is safely out of Berlin after twelve hours' visit [on Nov. 18], which has apparently caused more anxiety to the police authorities than any other event in the history of this city. The crowd lined densely the whole length of Unter den Linden from the Russian Embassy to the Palace. Two important occurrences marked the day. The Czar and the Kaiser were closed alone together for 20 minutes. Soon afterwards Prince Bismarck spent an hour and a quarter with the Czar at the Embassy. What was said none except a professional newsmonger could pretend to say. It may be guessed, though, that Bismarck did not waste seventy-five minutes in making polite remarks regarding the weather. Whether the Czar was easy to convert, or whether his heart remains obdurate to the arguments of blood and iron, it is thought here, will soon be shown by Russian action.

### 1912: Help the Indians

NEW YORK — [The Herald says:] Francis Leupp, recently the head of the Indian Bureau in the Interior Department, holds that reform in the relations between the Government and the Indians is a matter of greatest importance. He shows that Congress should make more appropriations for the Indian. The result of the course being pursued by the Government is to exterminate the red men. It is time the national conscience was aroused.

### 1937: Nobel Peace Prize

OSLO — The Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded to Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, it was announced [on Nov. 18]. Lord Cecil has devoted all his energy to the defense of the League of Nations as being the only means of preserving peace. As President of the League of Nations Union he stood staunchly for League principles during the Ethiopian war and at the outbreak of the Spanish civil war.



OPINION

# Korea: Ex-Patients Throw Their Crutches at the Doctor

By William Safire

SEOUL — The name of the game here is "polymyx." The struggle for South Korean political power merges with the chance to use the 1988 summer Olympics to gain international prestige. This nation could make it big by carrying out a democratic election and making the results stick; then the new man with a mandate could gain diplomatic strength by playing host to the world — including Communist powers that recognize only the early Korean regime in the North. Or it could blow its once-in-a-lifetime chance.

To illustrate: Two quite different rallies were held simultaneously last weekend. At the rally in a suburb of Seoul, a city of 10 million, the ruling party's candidate, Roh Tae Woo, read a speech promising new housing to a polite crowd. At the other rally, in the southern city of Kwangju, two opposition parties clashed. Posters were burned and rocks thrown by toughs supporting the populist candidate Kim Dae Jung, making it impossible for the other opposition leader to speak in the stronghold of "D-J."

My intention here for no news led me to the dull rally. Even so, the strategy of the party in power became clear: provide a stable, even boring contrast to the fireworks of the charismatic Kim D-J, and exploit the angry spirit in the opposition. Free Korea's press is feisty; already candidates have been accused of abetting corruption, corruption and communism, and of fooling around. (This country has not yet achieved a degree of political sophistication that requires candidates to detail their experiences with pot, but give it time.) Polls are forbidden, so nobody knows who will win next month, but most Koreans want neither intervention by the army nor intimidation by rock-throwing radical students.

Let's assume democracy prevails. Here is a good place to address the questions bothering many Americans interested in the Far East: Why don't the newly free

societies embrace the world's leading exemplar of democracy? Why should resentment surface in South Korea, of all places, a land where the presence of 40,000 U.S. troops stops the militarists in North Korea from swooping down again? Why aren't old comrades-in-arms in Korea (and the Philippines) grateful for America's defense umbrella, its welcoming markets, its democratic example?

Forget gratitude. The ex-patients are throwing their crutches at the doctor; nothing new about that. Americans must cheer for self-determination and adjust to the hard fact that gratitude no longer has a place in relations between the Haves and the Just Getting.

Many Koreans grumble about history (Washington made a deal with the Russians that divided their country) and glower at the presence of U.S. troops in the Seoul headquarters first established by Japanese occupiers — prime real estate suitable for high-rise hotels. With few natural resources and a heavy defense requirement, they have built an economy that gives the Japanese fits and takes full advantage of the American market. Now that Koreans are finally making it, along come the uncompetitive Americans to complain about surpluses and threaten their new prosperity with protectionism.

And here comes the beauty part: No longer will there be a Korean divergence to tell the complainers to shut up and appreciate the American defense presence, and to accommodate the American irritation at trade imbalances. Politicians in a democracy — especially a new one — play to their constituents. You don't win votes by thanking America; you win by passing the word that a new day of nationalism is dawning. Later, after you have won, you try to restrain your supporters and act responsibly — if you can.

Each country handles differently its political need to shake off the burden of historical gratitude. The shrewd Chinese on Taiwan remain eagerly pro-American; the desperate Filipinos shop around with U.S. bases in hopes of financial support from Japan; the bustling Japanese agree with America publicly about their unconscionable surpluses but drag a foot privately; the Koreans are culturally confrontational, and you can expect a few karate chops if Kim D-J wins and if the army swallows his victory.

America's response should be: O.K., forget the past, but remember the future. Americans should ask more assertively: Do you really want to face the Russians — and Vietnamese, and North Koreans, and Communist China — alone? Do you want to lose the American market and fight for the prosperous life with the neo-imperialists of Japan?

In every public square an electric sign flashes a number, counting down the days until the start of Seoul's Olympics. That is not the only countdown.

The New York Times



# A Few Things I've Regretted All My Life

By Jeff Greenfield

NEW YORK — Good morning, Ladies and Gentlemen. I am announcing today my candidacy for president of the United States. I believe that the major issue in this campaign is one of trust: Only a candidate who levels — completely and openly — with the American people can withstand the grueling scrutiny of public and press, and can represent the noble aspirations of our people.

In that spirit, let me discuss frankly some matters that sooner or later will become public concerns — matters which, I believe, in fact make me a better candidate for president.

When I was 6 years old, I put a frog in Emily McInyre's lunch box. Emily McInyre always had cookies cut in the shape of dinosaurs, and my mom — who had to work at the Piggly-Wiggly after my dad lost his job — never had time to make cookies for me. It was a youthful mistake; I've regretted it all my life. But it taught me the value of all living things, which is why I introduced the Save Little Helpless Creatures Act of 1978.

At age 11, I was caught playing doctor with Emily McInyre in the fifth grade coat closet. It was a youthful mistake, and I've regretted it all my life — especially since we were caught before we got past the preliminary examination. But that helped me develop a lifelong interest in the problem of providing quality health care to millions of Americans, which is why I sponsored the Long Life and Good Health Act of 1978.

As a college freshman, preparing an essay for Introductory English on "What I Did on My Summer Vacation," I accidentally used 10 pages from Martin Luther King's "Letter From a Birmingham Jail."

## MEANWHILE

"Jail." This was a careless rather than a malicious error; it was clear that I had not spent my summer in a Southern jail for an act of civil disobedience. Nonetheless, the college saw fit to place me on academic probation for my freshman year.

It was a youthful mistake, and I've regretted it all my life. But that combination of reading material and punishment triggered my interest in criminal justice. My co-sponsorship of the Tough but Fair Crime Act of 1981 demonstrates how valuable that experience was.

Shortly after graduation, I married

Jennine Simpson, the greatest helpmate a guy could have. Then I began traveling a lot and . . . well, I guess I began taking Jennine for granted just a bit.

One evening in Iowa, I was introduced to a woman who was a holistic therapist; imagine my surprise when it turned out to be my old schoolmate Emily McInyre. Because of my intense interest in the problem of affordable health care, we began a long and intimate conversation. Well, I learned something about myself from that experience — especially after Jennine's sister, who happened to be in Iowa, saw me there with Emily McInyre.

I learned that too often we successful, accomplished public men are too busy with our public lives to think very much about our private lives. And that is why I sponsored the Public Life-Private Life Research and Information Act of 1983, to organize a government commission to hold hearings and offer policy recommendations in this critical area.

May I add as a personal note that this middle-age mistake, which I will regret for the rest of my life, taught me the value of the assistance of my lovely wife Jennine even more — which is why, shortly after my return from Iowa, I placed half of all my stock holdings in her name, as a gesture of my support for the women's movement.

Now speaking of stock: Some of you know about that unfortunate misunderstanding in Miami where I received some stock — worth not more than a few hundred thousand dollars — after I introduced legislation to zone the Everglades for commercial development. The fact that I was retained by the Acme Foundry Co. was completely coincidental. I simply happen to believe that without developing our economic resources, we will become a second-class power.

Nonetheless, it was a powerful learning experience, one that taught me the dangers of unchecked commercial development of our natural beauty. That is why I introduced the Save the Trees and Pretty Flowers Act of 1986, and why I am also chairing a special subcommittee investigating insider trading abuses.

The record, I believe, is clear. Each time I have had a learning experience, I have learned something not just about myself but about how to make our country better. And, thanks to a large assortment of character flaws, I know more about what is wrong with America than anyone in this race.

That concludes my statement. Now let's go get something to drink. Oh, have I mentioned my breakthrough legislation on substance abuse?

Universal Press Syndicate

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Russia's Revolution, Too, Needs More Than 70 Years

Regarding "These 70th Anniversary Rites Celebrate a Tragedy" (Nov. 11):

William Pfaff writes that the 70th anniversary of the Russian revolution cruelly failed Russia even though it began "in noble purpose." Without wanting to appear an apologist for the excesses and tragedy that have come with the development of post-revolutionary Russia, I find Mr. Pfaff's position historically shortsighted and unfair in that it applies a double standard. A comparison of the present situation of the Soviet Union with that of the United States 70 years after its revolution will illustrate what I mean.

In 1848, the United States was in many respects a tragic failure in regard to the ideals upon which it had been founded. Although the country was dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal," a significant portion of its economy was — but did not have to be — based on the brutal exploitation of slave and immigrant labor. The country actively pursued a domestic policy aimed at the forced removal, confinement and genocide of its native population, while its major foreign policy goal was to provoke its southern neighbor into attacking it so that it could grab its best lands. Considerable segments of its population were excluded from power.

The degree to which the United States today better corresponds to the goals that it originally set for itself is a consequence of the actions taken by dynamic and critical leaders who, like Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union, were

unable to turn a blind eye to the discrepancy between ideals and reality, and were not afraid to speak out or assume the political risks involved in calling for and bringing about significant change.

The ideals upon which the Soviet Union was established were honorable, even if their implementation was delayed, not least because of threatened and real foreign intervention. The shared historical experience of both the United States and the Soviet Union shows that the revolutionary process is painfully, disappointingly slow.

Let us wish Mr. Gorbachev success and hope that the reforms he desires are, like those which it took a Lincoln and a Civil War to bring in the United States, capable of setting his country on the right track so that 30 years from now, when the Soviet Union is celebrating its centenary, the balance sheet will show that the revolution was worthwhile.

EUGENE HOLMAN, Helsinki

### For the United Nations

The Soviet Union's decision to pay its debts to the United Nations is welcome news (IHT, Oct. 16) at a time of financial crisis for the United Nations because the United States refuses to pay its assessed share of the budget. The U.S. debt to the United Nations now totals more than \$350 million.

The Soviet Union has also provided a needed boost for the United Nations

through statements by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev calling for the International Court of Justice to have mandatory jurisdiction in more cases, stressing the need to respect the UN Charter and calling for a UN agency to oversee a weapons-free outer space.

The challenge is now to the United States. It can be met by endorsing Mr. Gorbachev's stand and giving support for a strengthened United Nations, recognizing that the universal membership of this world organization is one of the great milestones in history, the first step toward building the world community on which the future depends.

DOUGLAS MATTERN, San Francisco

### The Military in Iran

The report "Iranians Say a Rebel Army Is Causing Problems" (Oct. 27) describes the Iranian Liberation Army as "made up largely of army dissidents."

The significance of this has, I believe, been largely overlooked. Iran's inability to gain a military victory in eight years of fighting against a nation one-third its size may indicate that its experienced military men are unwilling to fight for Ayatollah Khomeini. Untrained villagers can do little more than run up the casualty rates, while the hard-core fanatics man speedboats and spread the conflict to neighboring Gulf states.

It is equally significant that this army of dissidents appears to be giving the Iranian government more trouble on the ground than Iraq has for quite some

time. It may be that the time-worn tactic of creating a foreign threat to stifle domestic opposition has begun to wear thin. The mullahs' forces are already hard pressed to cover the cities and the war fronts. If some of those forces are defecting, some deserting, and a great many unwilling to fight — particularly against their fellow Iranians — things must look pretty grim from Tehran.

JACK MORRISON, New York

### For Private Universities

In response to the photograph in your Nov. 14 issue of Greek students marching in Athens and demanding "a law banning private schools," one can only comment that they are on an ideological mission. Currently, university presidents encourage the creation of private universities, since they grow up to supply services that public universities ignore. Public and private universities agree that they complement each other.

The economic and cultural explosion of the Far East can be attributed in good part to the growth of private universities there. Latin America has had a parallel growth. And changes in North America in the last decade have been favorable to private universities. Athens seems to have forgotten the Academy with Socrates and Aristotle.

HERBERT MAZA, European Chairman, International Association of University Presidents, Aix-en-Provence, France

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

## GENERAL NEWS

# Bereft of Trees, Storm Zone Counts Loss

By Barry James

PARIS — Officials in France and Britain continue to count the costs of the region's worst storm in nearly three centuries, one that caused vast destruction in northwestern France a month ago and changed the landscape in large areas of southeastern England forever.

In England, winds of up to 150 mph (240 kph) felled at least 15 million mature trees, according to the Forestry Commission.

"It was a national as well as a physical shock to people to see how vulnerable the landscape really is, and what an enormous contribution trees make to that landscape," said David Coleman, director of Task Force Trees, a temporary committee set up by the semi-official Countryside Commission to channel government aid.

In Paris, the Insurance Information Center said a preliminary tally of claims received by insurers and a special farmers fund totals at least 3.3 billion francs (\$576 million). But since many struggling farmers in northwestern France are underinsured or not insured at all, the actual amount of damage is thought to be much higher. And the insurance companies' estimates do not include damage to trees or thousands of pleasure boats covered under separate policies.

A spokesman for the Association of British Insurers said that early claims estimates come to at least \$500 million (\$880 million). Hurricane-force winds slammed into Europe early on the morning of Oct. 16, striking from the Bay of Biscay across Brittany and Normandy, then cutting across the English Channel into West Sussex, East Sussex, Kent and East Anglia before diminishing in the North Sea.

Churning winds at the edge of the storm caused heavy damage or flooding in many other areas, in-



cluding northwestern Spain, the Belgian and Dutch coasts and 16 counties in southeastern England. All of London was blacked out for a few hours, for the first time since the World War II blitz. Because most people were still in bed when the storm struck, casualties were relatively low — about 20 were killed throughout Europe.

When people woke, the scene was "as if a giant hand had reached out and obliterated the landscape," said a woman in East Sussex, for whom the storm opened up a view from the English Channel, nearly 20 miles away. Most of the trees within sight were down, and the wind had ripped the leaves off every tree left standing, creating the impression of instant winter.

"We are trying to draw up a balance sheet," said a spokesman for the Prefecture, the district government, in Finistere, in the far west of France, "but we are still having to update it almost every day."

He put damage to Finistere alone at two billion francs, "at an absolute minimum." More than 100 fishing vessels in Brittany were damaged. Seventy percent of the oyster harvest on the Normandy

coast near Cotentin was lost. In the department of Cotes-du-Nord, the storm smashed 62,000 acres (25,000 hectares) of greenhouses and wiped out 200,000 acres of corn.

Hundreds of thousands of trees in northwestern France were uprooted, reducing protection against future winds and flooding. The telephone company said it would take at least two years to replace nearly 6,000 miles of cables brought down in Brittany alone.

Both Brittany and Normandy are made up of small- to medium-sized farms run for the most part by fiercely independent families. Although the government sent troops to help out after the storm and promised special aid to farmers without insurance, many families were bankrupted.

Because much of the affected area in Britain is given over to grassland and livestock rearing, and because crops had already been harvested, total agricultural losses were lower there. But Britain is more heavily forested, and therefore the overall environment in parts of England was destroyed to an even greater extent than in France.

Mr. Coleman of the Countryside Commission said most people, even if they live in towns, are emotionally attached to a vision of rural England that in some parts of the country disappeared within a couple of hours.

"Clearly, it will be 60 to 80 years at least before we will get back to a situation where people will be able to say, yes, that is a wonderful wooded landscape," he said. "During that time, it will be a growing landscape in the process of change for our grandchildren to enjoy."

In the meantime, the Forestry Commission and the timber industry have set up a Forest Windblow Action Committee to extract and market an estimated four million cubic meters of downed timber.

The storm caused more damage than Dutch Elm disease, which destroyed an estimated 10 million mature trees over a period of several years in a much wider area.

"The best way I can describe it is that most of the operations that we now need in our gardens, the badly affected ones, are those you associate with commercial forestry," said Julian Pridemore, chief agent of the National Trust. The National Trust owns many of the best-known stately homes and gardens in Britain.

"We are still having such a job to get in and assess the damage that we really haven't started to think particularly logically about the future," Mr. Pridemore said.

"Most people, I think, would like to see familiar landscapes restored," said David Jacques, inspector of parks and gardens for English Heritage, another semi-official body, which is responsible for historical buildings and the land immediately surrounding them. "But as far as designed landscapes, great parks and gardens are concerned, replanting has to be very carefully developed. Replanting alone is going to take five years, maybe longer. After that, you are looking ahead 100 years or more."

## Communist Party Hits Hard Times in Britain

LONDON — Britain's Communist Party has wound up its 40th national congress after reporting its finances in the red and its membership at the lowest level in more than 40 years.

Organizers said the card-carrying membership was down from a peak of 50,000 at the end of World War II to 10,350 today, reflecting the loss of one member in every three since 1983 during four years of bitter controversy over the party line.

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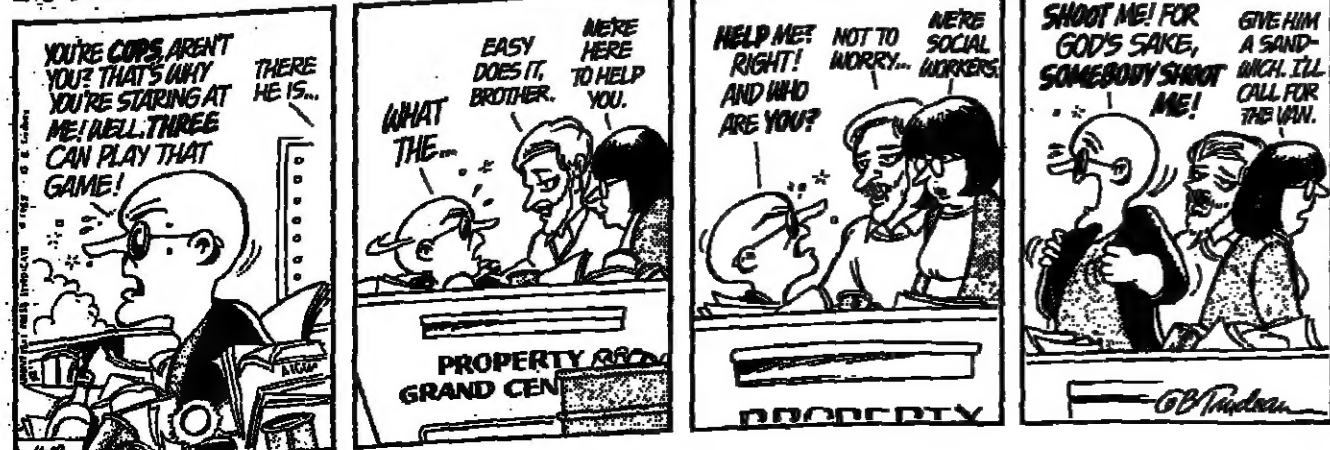
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## DOONESBURY



Not Yes, when Some other Cure  
By Giles Merritt  
9:42: Nobel Peace Prize  
9:57: Nobel Peace Prize



| NYSE Most Actives |        |         |         |       |
|-------------------|--------|---------|---------|-------|
| Vol.              | High   | Low     | Last    | Chg.  |
| GTE               | 18,724 | 34 1/2  | 34 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| IBM               | 18,724 | 222 1/2 | 222 1/2 | + 1/2 |
| AT&T              | 18,724 | 15 1/2  | 15 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| Amgen             | 18,724 | 11 1/2  | 11 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| Amgen             | 18,724 | 11 1/2  | 11 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| Amgen             | 18,724 | 11 1/2  | 11 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| Amgen             | 18,724 | 11 1/2  | 11 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| Amgen             | 18,724 | 11 1/2  | 11 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| Amgen             | 18,724 | 11 1/2  | 11 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| Amgen             | 18,724 | 11 1/2  | 11 1/2  | + 1/2 |

| Market Sales       |             |  |  |  |
|--------------------|-------------|--|--|--|
| NYSE 4 a.m. volume | 158,270,000 |  |  |  |
| NYSE 4 a.m. volume | 158,270,000 |  |  |  |
| NYSE 4 a.m. volume | 158,270,000 |  |  |  |
| NYSE 4 a.m. volume | 158,270,000 |  |  |  |
| NYSE 4 a.m. volume | 158,270,000 |  |  |  |

| NYSE Index |        |        |       |  |
|------------|--------|--------|-------|--|
| High       | Low    | Close  | Chg.  |  |
| 158.27     | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27     | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27     | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27     | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |

| NYSE Closing |        |        |       |  |
|--------------|--------|--------|-------|--|
| High         | Low    | Close  | Chg.  |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |

| AMEX Diary |       |       |     |     |
|------------|-------|-------|-----|-----|
| Adv.       | Decl. | Unch. | New | Low |
| 25         | 25    | 25    | 25  | 25  |
| 25         | 25    | 25    | 25  | 25  |
| 25         | 25    | 25    | 25  | 25  |
| 25         | 25    | 25    | 25  | 25  |

| NASDAQ Index |        |        |       |  |
|--------------|--------|--------|-------|--|
| High         | Low    | Close  | Chg.  |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |

| AMEX Most Actives |        |         |         |       |
|-------------------|--------|---------|---------|-------|
| Vol.              | High   | Low     | Last    | Chg.  |
| GTE               | 18,724 | 34 1/2  | 34 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| IBM               | 18,724 | 222 1/2 | 222 1/2 | + 1/2 |
| AT&T              | 18,724 | 15 1/2  | 15 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| Amgen             | 18,724 | 11 1/2  | 11 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| Amgen             | 18,724 | 11 1/2  | 11 1/2  | + 1/2 |

| Dow Jones Bond Averages |      |        |        |        |
|-------------------------|------|--------|--------|--------|
| Class                   | Chg. | Prev.  | High   | Low    |
| Govt                    | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt                    | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt                    | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt                    | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt                    | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

| NYSE Diary |      |        |        |        |
|------------|------|--------|--------|--------|
| Class      | Chg. | Prev.  | High   | Low    |
| Govt       | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt       | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt       | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt       | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt       | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

| Odd-Lot Trading In N.Y. |         |         |         |         |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Nov. 17                 | Nov. 18 | Nov. 19 | Nov. 20 | Nov. 21 |
| 158.27                  | 158.27  | 158.27  | 158.27  | 158.27  |
| 158.27                  | 158.27  | 158.27  | 158.27  | 158.27  |
| 158.27                  | 158.27  | 158.27  | 158.27  | 158.27  |
| 158.27                  | 158.27  | 158.27  | 158.27  | 158.27  |

| Dow Jones Averages |      |        |        |        |
|--------------------|------|--------|--------|--------|
| Class              | Chg. | Prev.  | High   | Low    |
| Govt               | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt               | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt               | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt               | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt               | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

| Standard & Poor's Index |        |        |       |  |
|-------------------------|--------|--------|-------|--|
| High                    | Low    | Close  | Chg.  |  |
| 158.27                  | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27                  | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27                  | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27                  | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |

| NASDAQ Diary |      |        |        |        |
|--------------|------|--------|--------|--------|
| Class        | Chg. | Prev.  | High   | Low    |
| Govt         | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt         | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt         | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt         | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt         | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

| AMEX Stock Index |        |        |       |  |
|------------------|--------|--------|-------|--|
| High             | Low    | Close  | Chg.  |  |
| 158.27           | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27           | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27           | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27           | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |

# NYSE Rises on Quiet Trading

NEW YORK — A final-hour rally pushed stock prices higher Wednesday in moderate trading despite worries over budget negotiations in Washington that one congressional leader cautioned could produce a "disappointing" outcome.

The Dow Jones industrial average rose 16.91 to 1939.16. The Dow had been down more than 25 points in the early going. The average fell 26.85 on Tuesday.

Advances led declines 979-580 on Wednesday among the 1,970 issues traded on the NYSE.

Big Board volume amounted to about 158.3 million shares, compared with 148.2 million shares traded Tuesday.

Trude Latimer, an analyst with Josephthal & Co., said selling dried up in the afternoon and the volume was "absolutely pitiful" with many institutional investors still on the sidelines waiting for "the next guy" to make a move.

She said the "cat is out of the bag as far as the budget is concerned. There is the assumption that we have reached a lukewarm compromise."

House Speaker Jim Wright cautioned Wednesday that the final agreement might not satisfy all concerned.

"It is disappointing to anyone who would like to see something more dramatic achieved," Mr. Wright said, "but it may be the only thing achievable. After all, you have to get something that will pass both houses."

"Before the ink is dry, they're putting holes in it," Ms. Latimer said. "Whatever elation we had expected, is being tempered by congressional leaders."

"The best thing we can say about this is that it is still a wait-and-see game," said Ralph Acampora, director of technical research at Kidder, Peabody & Co. "We have to see the final conclusion."

The negotiators face a Friday deadline for developing a proposal to shave at least \$23 billion from the deficit in fiscal 1988, which began Oct. 1.

Mr. Acampora said the market knows it will get a \$23 billion cut but the question remained on "how much more we're likely to get, and how we get it. Until it's defined and spelled out, the market is going to remain whimsical."

The market has suffered "a lot of pain," Mr. Acampora said. "What we are trying to do is achieve a bottom for a recovery on the upside. Basically, we are probing. And there's evidence to suggest a resolution" on the budget "would cause an upside move in the near-term."

Ms. Latimer, however, said reaction to a final accord might be more pronounced in overseas markets. "There is not a feeling of holding one's breath among domestic investors. Maybe we are just too jaded."

GTE was the most active NYSE-listed issue, gaining 1 to 36.

Nissan Motor followed, off 1/4 to 13 1/4.

AT&T was third, up 1/2 to 29 1/2.

IBM gained 1/2 to 118 1/2. Digital Equipment was up 1/2 to 130.

Among other blue chips, General Electric rose 1/4 to 45 1/4. American Express was up 1/4 to 24 1/4. USX gained 1/4 to 28 1/4 and Merck rose 1/4 to 17 1/4.

Texasco was unchanged at 30 1/4. Pennzoil was up 1/4 to 69 1/4.

| NYSE Most Actives |        |         |         |       |
|-------------------|--------|---------|---------|-------|
| Vol.              | High   | Low     | Last    | Chg.  |
| GTE               | 18,724 | 34 1/2  | 34 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| IBM               | 18,724 | 222 1/2 | 222 1/2 | + 1/2 |
| AT&T              | 18,724 | 15 1/2  | 15 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| Amgen             | 18,724 | 11 1/2  | 11 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| Amgen             | 18,724 | 11 1/2  | 11 1/2  | + 1/2 |


| NASDAQ Index |        |        |       |  |
|--------------|--------|--------|-------|--|
| High         | Low    | Close  | Chg.  |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |

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| NYSE Most Actives |        |         |         |       |
|-------------------|--------|---------|---------|-------|
| Vol.              | High   | Low     | Last    | Chg.  |
| GTE               | 18,724 | 34 1/2  | 34 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| IBM               | 18,724 | 222 1/2 | 222 1/2 | + 1/2 |
| AT&T              | 18,724 | 15 1/2  | 15 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| Amgen             | 18,724 | 11 1/2  | 11 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| Amgen             | 18,724 | 11 1/2  | 11 1/2  | + 1/2 |

| Market Sales       |             |  |  |  |
|--------------------|-------------|--|--|--|
| NYSE 4 a.m. volume | 158,270,000 |  |  |  |
| NYSE 4 a.m. volume | 158,270,000 |  |  |  |
| NYSE 4 a.m. volume | 158,270,000 |  |  |  |
| NYSE 4 a.m. volume | 158,270,000 |  |  |  |
| NYSE 4 a.m. volume | 158,270,000 |  |  |  |

| NYSE Index |        |        |       |  |
|------------|--------|--------|-------|--|
| High       | Low    | Close  | Chg.  |  |
| 158.27     | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27     | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27     | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27     | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |

| NYSE Closing |        |        |       |  |
|--------------|--------|--------|-------|--|
| High         | Low    | Close  | Chg.  |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |

| AMEX Diary |       |       |     |     |
|------------|-------|-------|-----|-----|
| Adv.       | Decl. | Unch. | New | Low |
| 25         | 25    | 25    | 25  | 25  |
| 25         | 25    | 25    | 25  | 25  |
| 25         | 25    | 25    | 25  | 25  |
| 25         | 25    | 25    | 25  | 25  |

| NASDAQ Index |        |        |       |  |
|--------------|--------|--------|-------|--|
| High         | Low    | Close  | Chg.  |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27       | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |

| AMEX Most Actives |        |         |         |       |
|-------------------|--------|---------|---------|-------|
| Vol.              | High   | Low     | Last    | Chg.  |
| GTE               | 18,724 | 34 1/2  | 34 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| IBM               | 18,724 | 222 1/2 | 222 1/2 | + 1/2 |
| AT&T              | 18,724 | 15 1/2  | 15 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| Amgen             | 18,724 | 11 1/2  | 11 1/2  | + 1/2 |
| Amgen             | 18,724 | 11 1/2  | 11 1/2  | + 1/2 |

| Dow Jones Bond Averages |      |        |        |        |
|-------------------------|------|--------|--------|--------|
| Class                   | Chg. | Prev.  | High   | Low    |
| Govt                    | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt                    | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt                    | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt                    | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt                    | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

| NYSE Diary |      |        |        |        |
|------------|------|--------|--------|--------|
| Class      | Chg. | Prev.  | High   | Low    |
| Govt       | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt       | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt       | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt       | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt       | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

| Odd-Lot Trading In N.Y. |         |         |         |         |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Nov. 17                 | Nov. 18 | Nov. 19 | Nov. 20 | Nov. 21 |
| 158.27                  | 158.27  | 158.27  | 158.27  | 158.27  |
| 158.27                  | 158.27  | 158.27  | 158.27  | 158.27  |
| 158.27                  | 158.27  | 158.27  | 158.27  | 158.27  |
| 158.27                  | 158.27  | 158.27  | 158.27  | 158.27  |

| Dow Jones Averages |      |        |        |        |
|--------------------|------|--------|--------|--------|
| Class              | Chg. | Prev.  | High   | Low    |
| Govt               | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt               | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt               | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt               | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt               | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

| Standard & Poor's Index |        |        |       |  |
|-------------------------|--------|--------|-------|--|
| High                    | Low    | Close  | Chg.  |  |
| 158.27                  | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27                  | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27                  | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27                  | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |

| NASDAQ Diary |      |        |        |        |
|--------------|------|--------|--------|--------|
| Class        | Chg. | Prev.  | High   | Low    |
| Govt         | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt         | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt         | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt         | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| Govt         | 1/2  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

| AMEX Stock Index |        |        |       |  |
|------------------|--------|--------|-------|--|
| High             | Low    | Close  | Chg.  |  |
| 158.27           | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27           | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27           | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |
| 158.27           | 158.27 | 158.27 | + 1/2 |  |

Currency Rates

Interest Rates

Continued on next left-hand page



THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1987

Page 9

ECONOMIC SCENE

Business Slightly Affected By Market's Fall, So Far

**By LEONARD SILK**  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — How hard a blow has the stock market's collapse last month dealt to the real economy? So far the effect seems slight. Retail sales last month dropped only 0.1 percent, and the industrial production index rose 0.6 percent. Despite the worries on Wall Street, it looks like business as usual around the country.

Many executives feel that the market has carried their shares down unjustly. Restructuring and cost-cutting go on. Wages are rising less than prices; profits, they insist, are unimpaired.

Thus far there is no evidence of a fall in capital spending plans; businesses at this point seem more likely to delay than to cancel capital spending plans, until they see whether the fallout of the market's bust comes down on their sales.

To be sure, the economists have been adjusting their forecasts downward. The November survey of economists by Blue Chip Indicators found that the consensus forecast of inflation-adjusted gross national product for 1988 had dropped nearly a full percentage point, to 1.9 percent, from 2.8 percent the previous month. That was the biggest month-to-month drop in the survey's 11-year history. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development has knocked down its forecast for the United States in 1988 to a sluggish 2 percent from 2.75 percent.

Whatever their anxieties, few economists are publicly predicting a recession next year and fewer still another depression. Of those economists willing to stick their necks out and forecast the start of the next recession — 35 of the 49 polled — slightly more than half expect a recession to begin in 1989, after the presidential election, one out of five expect it to start next year and one in eight believe it has already started. The remaining one-eighth say they don't see a recession starting until 1990 or later.

Those who forecast a recession don't expect it to be terribly long. Forty-six percent expect it to be over in 1990; 35 percent say it will end in 1989, and another 19 percent see it ending in 1988.

Few economists are publicly predicting a recession next year and fewer still another depression.

For Ross Perot, GM Ouster Still Rankles

Texas Investor Says Infighting Is Sapping Automaker's Energies



H. Ross Perot, right, says he is still puzzled by the decision by GM's chairman, Roger B. Smith, left, to push him out.

**By James Risen**  
Los Angeles Times Service

DETROIT — Nearly a year after he was ousted from the board of General Motors Corp., H. Ross Perot says GM in turmoil, its sales plunging and the company drifting and leaderless. And he thinks he knows why.

As always, the 57-year-old Texas billionaire isn't shy about telling the world what he thinks.

GM is troubled, Mr. Perot says bluntly, because it is beset by power-hungry top executives who spend all of their time trying to move up the ladder and who do little to improve the quality of GM's cars.

"My greatest regret is over the maneuvering and politics and power-grabbing going on inside the corporation, which distracts them from making the finest cars in the world," Mr. Perot said in an interview this week.

"Too much energy is being used up in corporate infighting. The corporation ought to be devoting its energies to making the finest cars in the world, and not get tied up in management power struggles, and Machiavellian intrigues, and that's what is going on. It's sad to see."

As an example of the malaise in GM's executive ranks, Mr. Perot cites Elmer Johnson, an executive vice president. Mr. Johnson is widely reported in Detroit to be mounting an intense drive inside the company to succeed Chairman Roger B. Smith, who is scheduled to retire in 1990.

"You've got a giant organization that's not functioning well, and there you go," Mr. Perot said. "People sense weakness, and step in and try to take control."

Mr. Johnson, who the point man in GM's

efforts to oust Mr. Perot last year, is a 55-year-old former corporate attorney from Chicago who joined GM in 1983 with no experience in the auto business. He started as general counsel and since has seen his responsibilities expanded to include a broad range of staff functions, including public affairs, personnel and labor relations. He was the executive overseeing this year's contract talks with the United Auto Workers.

Mr. Johnson and other GM executives declined Tuesday to respond to Mr. Perot's comments.

Under the \$700 million buyout agreement Mr. Perot signed when he sold his huge GM stake back to the company last year, Mr. Perot isn't supposed to make negative public comments about GM.

It is clear that Mr. Smith and other executives have tried to limit the damage from the Perot affair and have taken steps during the past year to boost GM's tarnished image.

Several months after Mr. Perot's ouster, Mr. Smith launched a public relations offensive, wooing Wall Street analysts and investors as well as the news media. He sent letters to the company's stockholders stressing the company's effort to build better cars, and just this week he told reporters that he sees the 1988 model cars as the key to regaining lost market share.

Even Mr. Perot now says he has been pleased by GM's effort to improve communication with its stockholders as well as by the company's decision to replace its executive bonuses with a compensation package tied to corporate achievement.

Still, Mr. Perot has neither forgotten nor forgiven the rude treatment that he received

at the hands of GM in late 1986. And a year later, he hints that he still doesn't completely understand why it all happened.

A flamboyant superpatriot and self-made billionaire, Mr. Perot sold Electronic Data Systems Corp., the Dallas-based computer services company he founded, to GM for \$2.5 billion in 1984 and immediately became GM's largest shareholder and a member of the board.

He sold his privately held company only after GM's Mr. Smith convinced him that GM needed EDS to help in the auto maker's drive to become a world leader in factory automation, and likewise needed Mr. Perot's fiery spirit to revitalize GM's bureaucracy for the big battle with the Japanese.

But it didn't take long for Mr. Smith to realize that Mr. Perot was really too fiery and that he was becoming a loose cannon in one of the most tradition-bound corporations in America.

Mr. Perot dared to question longstanding management practices, and openly sought to stir things up; he would go down to the factory floor to talk to workers about new ideas and would anonymously shop at GM dealerships, trying to gauge customer service.

On the board, he provoked Mr. Smith when he became the only member to vote against GM's \$5.2 billion acquisition of Hughes Aircraft Co. in 1985.

And, most importantly, he refused to turn over the reins of EDS completely to GM. Since EDS remained a separate unit under GM, with its own publicly traded class of stock, Mr. Perot repeatedly demanded that GM meet its contractual obligations to EDS.

See PEROT, Page 11

Kuwait Buys 10% Stake in BP As 'Investment'

**Reuters**

LONDON — Kuwait has bought more than 10 percent of the shares of British Petroleum Co., the oil company announced Wednesday.

BP, the biggest British company in terms of revenue, said the Kuwait Investment Office had taken a 10.06 percent equity holding.

The office, the London-based investment arm for the Kuwaiti government, said in a statement of its own that it regarded the shares as a "good long-term investment."

Analysts assume the Gulf oil state has bought BP stock put on the market Oct. 29 when the British government sold its 31.5 percent stake in the company.

When world stock prices plunged last month, demand for the British government's offering evaporated. A huge volume of BP shares has been on the stock market at prices far below what underwriters paid for the issue.

The analysts said they assumed that the Kuwaitis had been buying mostly, or wholly, the new, part-paid BP stock, and that 600 million of those shares would have cost about \$480 million (\$850 million).

During the last two days there has been frenzied trading in BP shares on the London Stock Exchange.

The part-paid stock closed Wednesday at 82 pence, after a day's high at 88 pence. The British government when it originally priced the new BP share at 330 pence, fully paid, set the first installment at 120 pence.

Kuwait officials would make no comment on whether there were plans to buy more BP stock. Recent market rumors suggested Kuwait sought a stake as high as 15 percent.

The Kuwait move is among more dramatic Middle East purchases into British business. Among the most publicized was the purchase of Harrods, the London department store, by the Egyptian-born al-Fayed brothers.

BP welcomed Kuwait's move, saying: "British Petroleum has often made clear its desire to widen its international shareholder base."

Some analysts saw in that a veiled warning not to venture towards what is called "putting an armlock on management."

Michael Unsworth, an analyst at Smith New Court Research, said he believed the Kuwait Investment Office would be buying shares as a long-term investment. "I still don't believe anyone is trying to build a stake to gain control over the BP management," he said.

BP trails only Exxon Corp. and Royal Dutch/Shell in scale among world oil companies.

Federal Reserve Seeks Repeal Of Glass-Steagall Bank Law

**The Associated Press**

WASHINGTON — The chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Alan Greenspan, told Congress on Wednesday that laws prohibiting banks from certain securities activities should be abolished, despite the recent extreme volatility in the stock and bond markets.

Mr. Greenspan, in outlining Fed policy on bank deregulation, told a House banking subcommittee that the U.S. central bank favored repeal of the 1933 Glass-Steagall Act, which separated banking and securities industries.

The Fed chairman said the board's decision was reached in closed meetings before the stock market plunged on Oct. 19, with a record 508-point decline in the Dow Jones industrial average.

But Mr. Greenspan said: "The events since Oct. 19 have not altered our view that it is both necessary to proceed to moderate our financial system and that it is possible to do so in a way that will maintain the safety and soundness of depository institutions."

Paul A. Volcker, Mr. Greenspan's predecessor at the central bank, opposed aggressive deregulation of the banking industry in the area of securities transactions.

In abandoning that policy line, Mr. Greenspan said banks should be allowed to underwrite securities as long as the activities were conducted by a subsidiary of the bank's parent holding company, not directly by the bank. Such a separation would insulate depositors from the risks of underwriting securities, Mr. Greenspan said.

He said, contrary to Congress's views at the time, "bank securities activities were not a cause of the Great Depression and that banks with securities affiliates did not fail in proportionately greater numbers than banks more generally."

He said: "While securities activities are clearly risky, the risks can be managed prudently." He later added, "We believe that this goal is most effectively achieved if securities activities take place in a direct subsidiary of a holding company rather than in a bank or a subsidiary of a bank."

Mr. Greenspan's backing of a move to give banks expanded powers gave a boost to proponents of legislation sponsored by the chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, William Proxmire, Democrat of Wisconsin. Mr. Proxmire's bill would allow banks to engage in securities underwriting through subsidiaries of the parent bank.

Senator Jake Garn of Utah, the ranking Republican on the committee, has criticized the proposal. He contends it would concentrate too much authority in the Federal Reserve, which has jurisdiction over bank holding companies.

Currency Rates

| Currency          | Per \$ | Currency       | Per \$ | Currency            | Per \$ | Currency           | Per \$ |
|-------------------|--------|----------------|--------|---------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|
| Australian dollar | 1.34   | French franc   | 6.55   | Italian lira        | 1,366  | Japanese yen       | 163.6  |
| Belgian franc     | 36.36  | German mark    | 3.36   | Netherlands guilder | 3.76   | New Zealand dollar | 1.25   |
| British pound     | 1.64   | Spanish peseta | 166.64 | Swiss franc         | 1.48   | South African rand | 1.76   |
| Canadian dollar   | 1.31   | Taiwan dollar  | 24.6   | U.S. dollar         | 1.00   | West German mark   | 3.36   |
| Danish krone      | 6.46   | Thai baht      | 5.5    |                     |        |                    |        |
| Deutsche mark     | 3.36   | Yen            | 163.6  |                     |        |                    |        |

| Currency           | Per \$ | Currency        | Per \$ | Currency          | Per \$ | Currency           | Per \$ |
|--------------------|--------|-----------------|--------|-------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|
| Argentine peso     | 2.5    | Israeli sheqel  | 3.4    | Malaysian ringgit | 2.36   | Soviet ruble       | 1.9    |
| Austrian schilling | 13.76  | Kenyan shilling | 1.0    | Mexican peso      | 20.36  | Sri Lankan rupee   | 20.36  |
| Brazilian cruzeiro | 200.48 | Laos kip        | 200.48 | Nigerian naira    | 1.0    | Tanzanian shilling | 20.36  |
| Chilean peso       | 800.48 | Myanmar kyat    | 1.0    | Pakistani rupee   | 20.36  | Ugandan shilling   | 20.36  |
| Colombian peso     | 200.48 | Nepalese rupee  | 1.0    | Peruvian sol      | 20.36  | Venezuelan bolivar | 20.36  |

| Currency          | Per \$ | Currency          | Per \$ | Currency       | Per \$ | Currency          | Per \$ |
|-------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|----------------|--------|-------------------|--------|
| Costa Rican colón | 200.48 | Salvadoran colón  | 200.48 | Uruguayan peso | 20.36  | Zimbabwean dollar | 20.36  |
| Czech koruna      | 200.48 | Seychellois rupee | 200.48 |                |        |                   |        |
| Dominican peso    | 200.48 | Singapore dollar  | 1.0    |                |        |                   |        |
| Ecuadorian sucre  | 200.48 | Taiwan dollar     | 24.6   |                |        |                   |        |

Sources: Morgan Guaranty (dollar, DM, SF, Pound, FF); Lloyds Bank (ECU); Reuters (SDR). Rates applicable to interbank deposits of \$1 million minimum (for equivalent). (SDR). Other data from Reuters and AP.

Interest Rates

| Currency | Rate  | Currency | Rate  | Currency | Rate  | Currency | Rate  |
|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|
| 1-month  | 6.50% | 3-month  | 6.75% | 6-month  | 7.00% | 1-year   | 7.25% |
| 2-month  | 6.62% | 4-month  | 6.87% | 5-month  | 7.12% | 2-year   | 7.50% |

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Awaiting Budget Outcome, Japanese Slow Investment in U.S.

**By Susan Chira**  
New York Times Service

TOKYO — The flow of money from Japan, a stream that has helped to finance the U.S. budget deficit and to influence stock prices on Wall Street, is slowing dramatically as investors here wait to see what steps the United States will take to cut its budget and trade deficits.

In June, long-term net capital outflow — how much more money left Japan than entered it — was \$19.2 billion. By September, it was \$2.3 billion. As another example, Japanese institutions sold more foreign bonds in October than they bought for the first time since 1983, according to the Bank of Japan, which includes such transactions in its accounting of capital flows.

Changes in Japanese investment are watched closely because if the Japanese turn away from U.S. government securities and no one else steps in, the United States might be forced to raise interest rates to attract new investors for the securities that allow the government to borrow.

Even before the stock market collapse last month, Japanese companies had curtailed their investment in foreign financial instruments, especially U.S. Treasury securities. If long-term and short-term capital flows are combined, Japan actually became an importer of capital in August and September, after more than four years as an exporter, according to Ron Napier, an economist with Salomon Brothers Inc. in Tokyo.

But the Japanese say that they have not been abandoning investments overseas, just choosing different types of investments. Instead of Treasury securities, Japanese institutional investors have been buying corporate bonds, real estate and stocks. Indeed, while Japanese investors were net sellers of foreign bonds in October, they were net buyers of equities, according to the Bank of Japan. But it appears that purchases of equities by the Japanese slowed considerably following the Oct. 19 stock market plunge.

It is not yet clear whether the slowdown in overseas investment is temporary. But Japanese companies are worried about increased currency risk because the dollar is still falling against the yen. In addition, robust economic growth in Japan and the widespread fear that Japanese interest rates would rise sparked enormous demand for yen loans, and many institutions chose to make loans

on the domestic market rather than invest overseas.

Since the Oct. 19 collapse Japanese investors have been holding back even more. Executives of Japan's huge life insurance companies and trust banks, the major investors in foreign stocks and bonds, say they will continue to refrain until they hear details of a plan to cut the U.S. budget deficit. The fear among the Japanese and other foreign investors is that a continued large budget deficit will hurt the U.S. economy, and consequently harm U.S. investments.

Although executives of life insurance companies and trust banks are wary of the outcome of the budget negotiations between the White House and congressional leaders, none said they planned to stop investing overseas. The United States is still attractive for foreign investment, they said. Also, Japanese companies would lose a great deal if they were to pull out precipitously, because of the effect on huge investments they have already made in U.S. stocks and bonds.

Nonetheless, an important shift in Japanese investment strategy appears under way: a move away from Japanese investment in U.S. government securities. Bank of Japan

statistics show that net purchases of foreign bonds (no breakdowns of bonds by country) are available for a high of \$12 billion in June, to \$1.9 billion in September.

Additionally, the Japanese central bank, rather than private institutions, has become the primary purchaser of U.S. Treasury bills, said Mr. Napier and David Gerstenhaber, an economist for Morgan Stanley & Co. in Tokyo. This is partly because the Bank of Japan has been buying huge amounts of dollars in foreign exchange markets to prevent the further weakening of the dollar, and then buying the short-term Treasury bills with the dollars, they said.

**Ministry Mulls U.S. Notes**

Japan's Finance Ministry is considering buying for the first time long-term U.S. Treasury notes to support the dollar, sources said Wednesday, according to an Agence France-Press report from Tokyo.

The ministry may buy 10-year and 30-year bonds worth between \$100 million to \$200 million at the next U.S. Treasury quarterly sale in February 1988. It would use money deposited in the Trust Fund Bureau in post office savings and life insurance, and in other public institutions, they said.

Crude Oil Prices Drop to Lowest Level Since April

**Reuters**

LONDON — Crude oil prices have fallen to their lowest level since April and traders say that only a return to price and production discipline by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries will stop the fall.

In an over-supplied spot or free market, a cargo of crude oil from Britain's North Sea Brent field changed hands Wednesday for \$17.40 a barrel for January loading, market sources reported.

West Texas Intermediate, the U.S. benchmark crude, was 15 cents lower at \$18.25 a barrel on the New York Mercantile Exchange futures for December delivery. Earlier, it fell to \$18.05.

Brent, a widely traded oil and a barometer to price trends, has not been that low since April. Quotes are down from a peak of nearly \$21 in August when tensions in the Gulf were high.

"We are in a situation where bear sentiment is feeding on itself," said Steve Turner, an oil analyst at the British brokerage Wood Mackenzie.

He and others said that OPEC was facing a stern test in the weeks before its scheduled ministerial meeting in Vienna on Dec. 9.

The organization has pegged its contract prices to a benchmark of \$18 a barrel. But, as supply outstrips demand, traders say that some members have made dis-

counts to match lower levels in the spot market.

The surplus is blamed on excess production by several OPEC members.

Industry sources estimate that the organization's total output may be close to 19 million barrels daily, well above its agreed ceiling of 16.6 million.

Among other factors to have depressed the market lately was Tuesday's weekly report by the American Petroleum Institute, which showed a rise in U.S. oil stocks.

A key question is how far Saudi Arabia, the biggest exporter, will let its output slip below its OPEC quota to make up for excesses by some of the other 12 members.

The Saudis stress that they will not adopt this "swing" producer role, but several traders estimated that Saudi output had fallen 20 percent in November to around 3.5 million barrels daily.

"I bet they will swing to a limited extent to maintain prices in the short term at least," Mr. Turner said.

A different view prevailed in Tokyo, however, where an analyst said: "The market has all the features of a headless chicken. And who's going to come to its rescue? The Saudis certainly aren't."

Traders said OPEC sellers used various methods of price discounting to sell oil in an already highly stocked market.

Iraq had been selling at market-related prices into the Mediterranean, Qatar had sold to Japan at Oman spot-market linked prices, and Kuwait had removed the freight premium for loadings at its

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Via The Associated Press

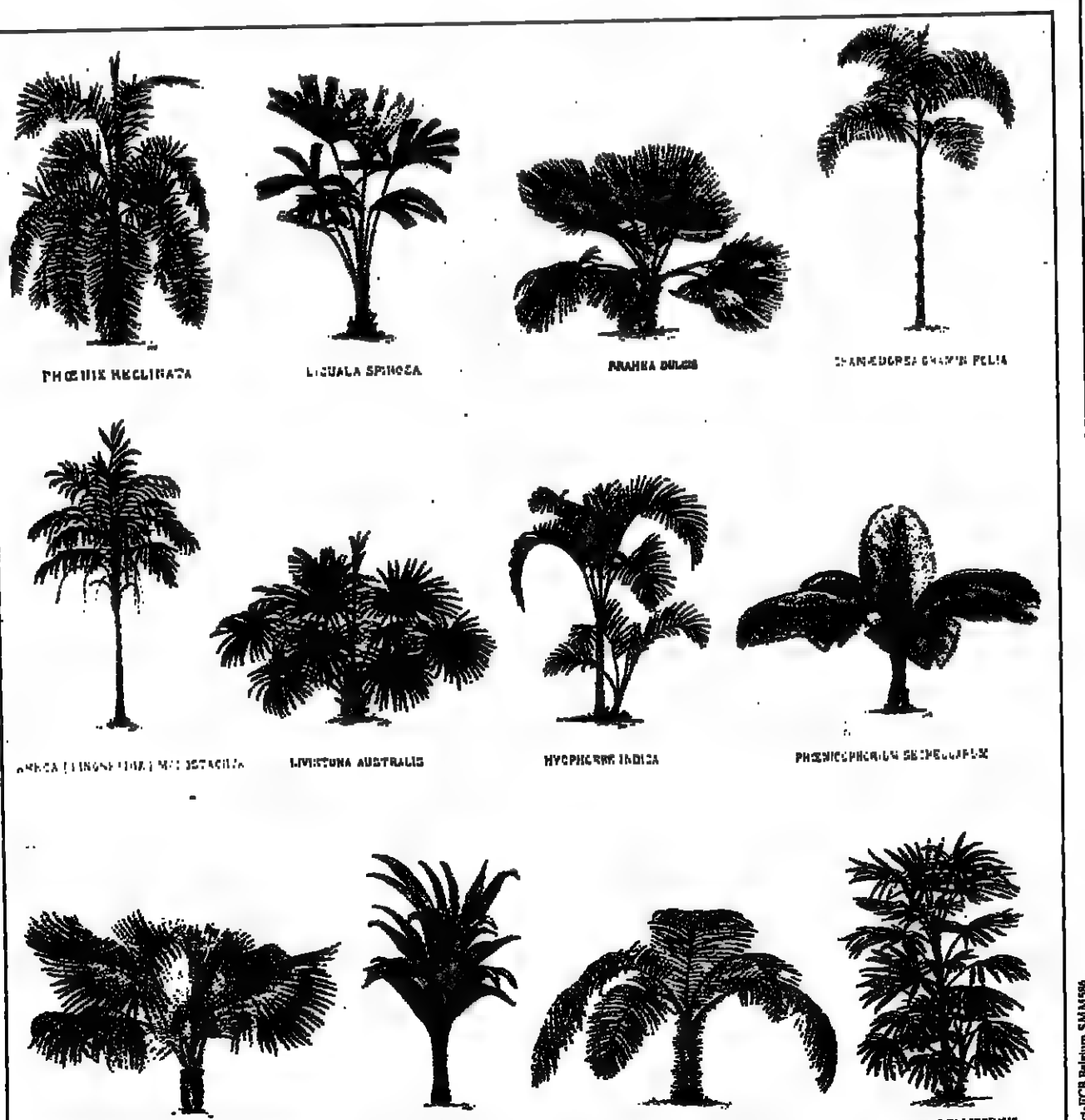
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The marginal symbols indicate frequency of quotations supplied: (d) daily; (w) weekly; (b) bi-monthly; (r) regularly; (i) irregularly.

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# ART BUCHWALD

## Looking for a Little Sin

WASHINGTON — The climate in Washington is such that in order to be a political candidate for any office you must confess to every sin you committed in your life.

Winkel, a presidential contender, couldn't understand it. He asked his campaign manager, "Why do you want me to expose my private life to the public?"

"Because if you don't, they will think you are a hypocrite," he said. "You are a hypocrite because you are a hypocrite." Winkel, a presidential contender, couldn't understand it. He asked his campaign manager, "Why do you want me to expose my private life to the public?"

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reid on the USC Tri Delta sorority, and Duggan has admitted to reading Penthouse magazine since he was 9 years old. We're the only ones who are not begging for forgiveness."

"It seems to me that the country would vote for the one candidate who has nothing to hide."

"Maybe. But we would be taking too big a chance. Think back, sir. Could you have committed adultery in your youth?"

"It was so long ago. Who can remember?"

"Maybe it happened in Iowa when you were too tired to think?"

"I never committed adultery. I wouldn't have been able to handle the guilt."

"OK then, have you ever been drunk and disorderly and arrested and tossed in the can?"

"Certainly not. I don't drink."

"We have to come up with something. You never smoked pot?"

"Never, not even from a pot plant."

"Sir, have you ever flirted with a woman other than your wife?"

"Why would I do that if I intended to be president of the United States?"

"The voter is going to find you awfully dull. What about wild beach parties?"

"I went to beach parties but only in my capacity as a lifeguard. This is getting ridiculous. I know of nothing I have done that the public need forgive me for."

"There has got to be something we've overlooked. Have you ever gone to Bimini in a boat with a volunteer from your campaign?"

"Yes, but she slept on a minisweeper when we got there."

"That's it! You have to say that you sailed out of Miami with another woman who was a model and also happened to be a good friend, and you're not going to sin any more."

"But I hardly knew the girl."

"By the time we're finished denying it the whole world will love her. Then finally the public will know you as a swinging human being who made one mistake but still belongs in the White House."

"Will adultery make me human?"

"A lot more human than supporting a balanced budget."

# Simon Callow, an Actor With a View

By Robert Cushman

LONDON — Simon Callow is the ebullient young British actor who created the role of Mozart in the National Theatre production of Peter Shaffer's "Amadeus," but he is probably best known to international audiences for his appearance in the film "A Room With a View."

To British theatergoers he is known for his work in classics and adventurous modern plays. British TV viewers, on the other hand, think of him as a sitcom hero; he has done a series of something called "Chance of a Lifetime," playing an accident-prone young man about whom coincidences cluster. To the acting profession he is a leader, partly on account of a book he wrote a couple of years ago called "Being an Actor," that was part autobiography, part manifesto. So he is also a name to the reading public, especially since the publication this summer of his second book — the best modern theatrical biography I have read — entitled "Charles Laughton: A Difficult Actor" (Methuen).

A difficult actor, and an unfashionable one. In his first book Callow revealed that earnest young directors used to laugh at his obsession with the portrayals of Henry VIII, Captain Bligh and the Hunchback of Notre Dame. It all seems, for Callow, to have started with the Hunchback. "I was 13 when I saw the film. It shook me, because I was depressed, alienated at that age. I felt ugly and rejected. I really identified with Quasimodo. I thought how moved I'd be if somebody would bring me a cup of water, like Esmeralda did to him."

It sounds like the classic childhood for an actor, almost too good to be true. In fact this kind of background is less likely to produce actors than to produce theater addicts or, in extreme cases, critics. And Callow is the latter; he goes, most unusually for an actor, to a lot of plays. And he has turned into a sort of critic: he doesn't review plays but he does review the state of the theater, the role of the actor, and even the careers of individual performers. For a time, he says, "I

cornered the market in minor actors' obituaries."

To get back to those beginnings, "My childhood reading was plays. I read all of Bernard Shaw. I read Ken Tynan. I began to differentiate between actors. I loved the size and scale of the actors of previous generations."

The fashionable rising stars of the late '50s and early '60s — the new proletarian actors, the Albert Finneys and Alan Bateses — were not actors the young Callow could identify with. A self-created aesthetic, "I knew nothing about the Beatles; I was discovering Rockeferry and Proust. Laughton fitted into my club of actors creating great gestures."

So did Laurence Olivier, whose film of "Richard III" was another seminal influence. "Olivier seemed to be celebrating the power and revenge, the attractiveness of evil, Laughton the transcendence of pain." When he started acting himself it was Olivier who had the greater practical effect on him. "I thought acting was to do with virtuosity, with testing one's own body, creating amazing visions. This philosophy, plus an exceptional supply of energy and an exceptional aplomb, saw him through a successful apprenticeship in the bustling fringe theater of the '60s and '70s. It was only when he got to the National that he recognized another principle: 'To begin to tap the resonance in yourself. I felt deeply in love while I was doing 'Amadeus.' Something towered up inside me, and my performance changed."

Callow's polished portliness hardly challenges comparison with the defiant ungainliness of Laughton. Nevertheless Callow came to realize that "like Laughton I'd been running away from my own body." In his book he traces Laughton's greatness to this self-loathing; to his embarrassment not only at his physique but at his background in the hotel trade (the Laughton family still owns a hotel in Scarborough, where Callow wrote most of his book) and at his homosexuality, unhappily camouflaged by his marriage to Elsa Lanchester. Unlike Olivier, makes no attempt to exorcise Quasimodo's anguish or Bligh's tyranny; he reaches into



Callow learned "to tap the resonance" in himself.

himself and embodies it. The audience does not so much understand as accept.

Callow begins his book with the wry avowal that it stems from his recognition that he himself was not, as he had thought, Charles Laughton. He gained this knowledge the hard way, playing one of Laughton's great stage roles from the '30s — the gangster Angelo Pirelli in Edgar Wallace's "On the Spot" — and closing in two weeks. What Laughton achieved to achieve effortlessly (whatever his elaborate hidden agonies) Callow visibly sweated for; he wasn't good. He had learned the lesson by the time of his next (and most recent) stage performance. A studio-theater version of "Kiss of the Spider Woman."

His was the same role William Hurt played in the movie. According to Callow "Bill Hurt plays 'this is a silly little queen, this is the way queens are.' I refused to do that. I had to find the silly little queen in myself, but I wanted to go further. I wanted to release the poetry, the need for love in the character. I wanted to show oppression in everyone."

The Laughton book took him a year to research, during which he seemingly interviewed every living person who knew Laughton and saw every one of his films, and another year to write. (Mind you, in this time he also directed half a dozen plays, translated two, and co-directed an opera.) "Being an actor, by contrast, was 'Just like a holiday, like eating an ice-cream

soda," and was done in three weeks. It reads that buoyantly, though a lot of people are pulled up short by his peroration, in which he concludes that actors are allowed insufficient autonomy and that directors, instead of easing the flow between actors and audience, frequently impede it.

Ironically but predictably he was soon a director himself. His greatest success in this line has been "The Infernal Machine," Coccia's high-camp version, in which he has played a brilliantly tremendous high-heeled performance as Jockast. "Directing Maggie," he said, "is like being given a Rolls-Royce to drive." He has also been seen on television, giving a master class in Restoration comedy to young actors, concentrating on the super-fop Lord Foppington of Vanbrugh's "The Relapse," whom he described, illuminatingly, as a man who totally approves of everything he himself says or does. Ambitions are to write a screenplay and direct a film.

Laughton also took in his later years to lecturing, teaching and directing as well as to reading and reciting. Like him Callow is becoming not so much an actor as a man about acting. He has not pursued the single-minded path toward the classics taken by his contemporary, and presumed rival, Anthony Stiller, this year's Shylock and Malvolio at Stratford. One reason, he says, is that he hasn't been asked. He was due to have played Goethe's "Faust," eight and a half hours of it, in London next year but the project has been suspended. I would be surprised though if that "Faust" does not turn up under some other auspices. Callow is untamable and unquenchable.

He lives in a West London attic, hemmed in with books and records and cassettes and theatrical memorabilia. I phoned for a taxi to pick me up there, and said that the driver should look for the name Callow by the bell. "Not," said the operator breathlessly, "Simon Callow? The actor?" That, I decided, was time. I was impressed. Callow was tame.

Robert Cushman is a London-based theater critic.

# PEOPLE

## Violinist Scrying to Play Long-Missing Concerto

Henryk Szeryng, a Polish-born violinist from Mexico, who discovered the lost score of Reynaldo Hahn's Violin Concerto in a Venezuelan library, is preparing the work's first performance in nearly 60 years in Atlanta Thursday. Szeryng, 69, said he found the score a year ago but saved its debut for the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra in gratitude for the kindness he was shown when he fell ill while performing in Atlanta in December 1984. The concerto, inspired by Hahn's friend Marcel Proust, was performed in public only once, on Feb. 26, 1928, in Paris and featuring the violinist Gabriel Bouillon, who later taught Szeryng. Scores of the concerto disappeared during World War II, resurfaced in Paris after the death in 1947 of the composer, who was chief music director for the Paris newspaper Le Figaro, and then vanished again by the late 1950s, Szeryng chanced upon the original score, written in Hahn's hand with his French notations, in a small library in the old section of Caracas, where Hahn was born.

The weekly Moscow News says poems of Joseph Brodsky will be published in next month's issue of the Soviet magazine Novy Mir. Brodsky, who won the Nobel Prize in literature in October, has lived in the United States since leaving Russia 15 years ago. The poems were chosen with Brodsky's approval.

Michael Grade, 44, television program director for the British Broadcasting Corp., said Tuesday he was resigning to become chief executive of the rival Independent Television's Channel 4.

The Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca has signed a contract to write another book, a spokesman for Bantam Books says. Iacocca, whose 1982 best-seller, "Iacocca: An Autobiography," sold 6.1 million copies in the United States and Canada, has yet to begin the untitled work. "It will not be a sequel to his autobiography," the spokesman said, "but it will be non-fiction. Including personal history and straight talk about various issues on his mind and on the minds of his readers."

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